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Education Issue

THE POLITICS OF OUTRAGE

Michael Rogin

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THE PLACE OF RELIGION

Andrew M. Greeley

JULIET ON A LADDER

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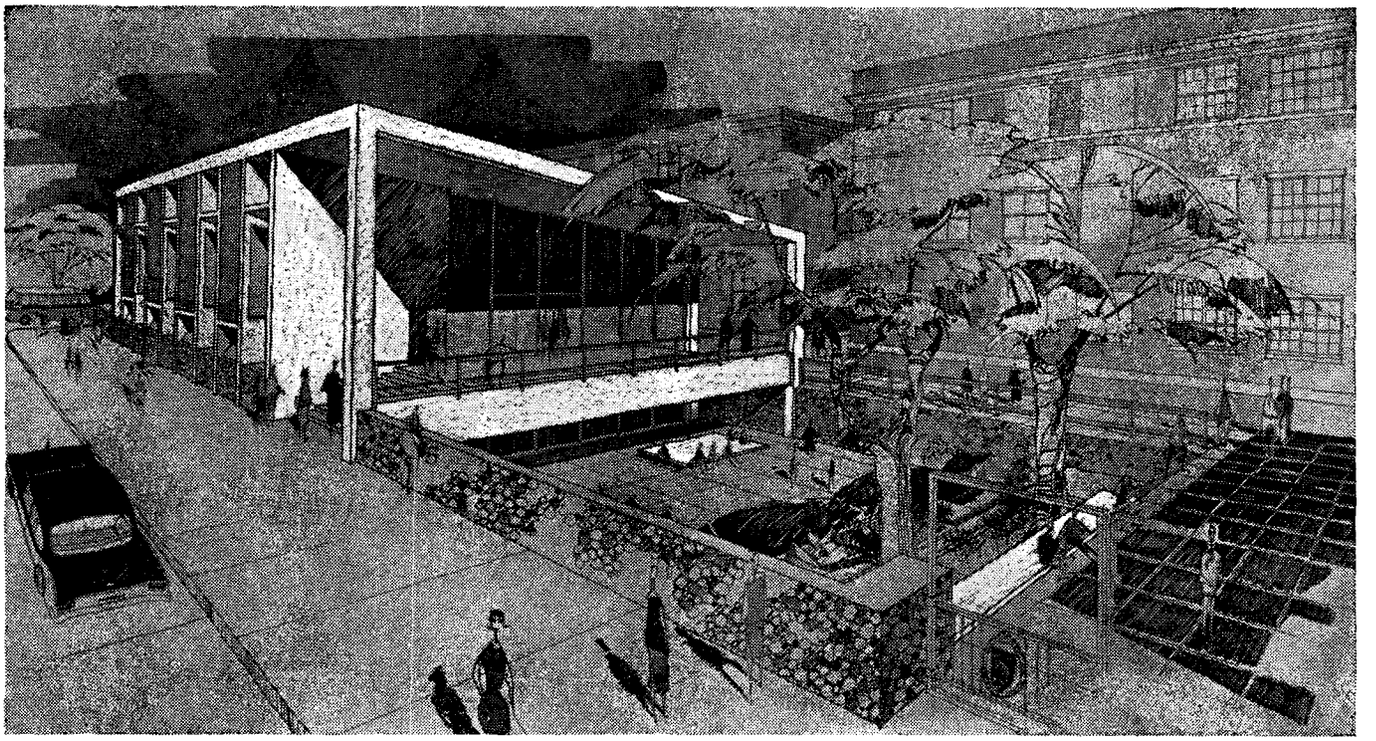

Ceiling unlimited

We may not put a roof on our new student center. Not for lack of materials, mind you — we've been student-centered for so long we could use our tradition for bricks and build a skyscraper.

It's just that student relations at Saint Peter's are somewhat uncontainable. Students have breakfast with Father Yanitelli, our president, every Wednesday. Task Force groups — students and faculty — use Friday to tear apart the College with a view towards better reassembly. Activity leaders spent seventy-two hours recently mapping the involvement of students in college.

Besides all this there are run-of-the-campus activities like glee club, drama, sports, fraternities, and about three dozen others. Maybe we *should* build a skyscraper for a student center, and since the sky's the limit at Saint Peter's, we'd better leave the top off.

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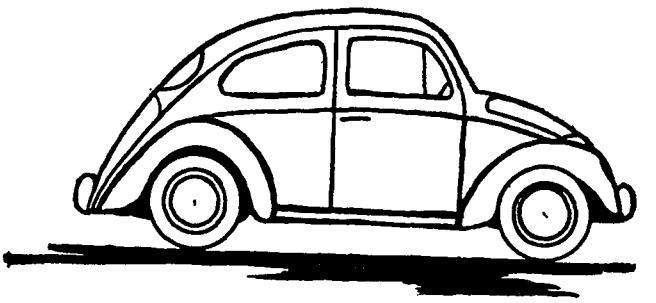

HOW IS JESUIT EDUCATION LIKE A VOLKSWAGEN?

Are Jesuit graduates ugly but dependable? We've never made a study of their looks, but they're hardly ever effete. Dependable? Yes.

Keeps good things and basic designs—for basic human needs? Jesuit education has done so for over 400 years. In the United States it started doing so at Georgetown and St. Louis when Europeans were the ethnic minority. It still does so at youthful Universities like Fairfield, whose first graduates bade farewell to the rolling hills and view of Long Island Sound in 1951.

First things first? Volkswagen puts the car around the engine. Jesuit colleges put the extras around a basic core of learning. This is especially true in a liberal arts college, which is at the heart of Fairfield University.

Recognizable anywhere? Jesuit graduates do have a common devotion to truth wherever it is found and respect for intellect. But there are unobstrusive, subtle changes from generation to generation and from school to school.

College of Arts and Sciences for men—Majors in Sciences, Business and liberal arts. Graduate school of education (coed). Summer Graduate and Undergraduate programs (coed—boarding). Boarding facilities on the 200 acre campus in the revolutionary town of Fairfield, an hour from New York City.

Fairfield University, Fairfield, Connecticut 06433

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Fellow-travelers we: Victor S. Navasky, writing in the *New York Times Magazine* on the intellectual establishment of New York City: "As of this week, the only certified way to gain entry to the inner circle is to write regularly for two of the big three outlets. The *Pravda* and *Izvestia* of the establishment are *The New York Review of Books*. . .and *Commentary*. . . .*Partisan Review*, the third member of the troika (with about 20,000 readers), is really the mother of the New York intellectual establishment. . . Magazines like the *New Republic*, the *Nation*, *Commonweal* and the *New Leader*, unlike 'the triple alliance' (as Irving Kristol calls the big three) are fellow-travelers of the establishment but quite distinct from it."

•

"Responsible partners who see themselves obliged to contraceptive marital intercourse, not lightly and habitually, but rather as a regrettable emergency solution, may take it that by doing so they do not exclude themselves from Communion at the Eucharistic table. They will realize, in all humility, that they are only on the way towards a mature marital love in full harmony with God's will, and that they must honestly strive to respond to God's loving invitation in the fullness of love."

—Cardinal Döpfner,
Archbishop of Munich-Freising
(Quoted in the London *Tablet*, March 12, 1966.)

•

James Higgins, writing in the York (Pa.) *Gazette and Daily* about a discussion with a hitchhiker, who turned out to be a soldier, just back from Vietnam: "So what's happening over there generally, I asked him, as far as you know? He gave me a look as if to say, get ready for this one. Then he said, we're losing, that's what's happening. At least we were up until I left, which was only a few months ago. My advice is for you to take all those casualty figures in the papers as not true. Man, he said, we would never find the VC in any size numbers at all. They just keep slipping away. . . Many of [the Vietcong] are kids, twelve or fourteen years of age. But the ones I felt sorry for was our own kids, eighteen and nineteen, thinking they knew all about jungle warfare from seeing it on television. The next thing—maimed for life, if not dead. . .Just one way to win in that place and that's drop the H-bomb on the whole creeping place. Yes, I said, but then everybody loses. Sure he said, that's right, but what else is your option? . . . I asked if he had made any money in Vietnam beyond his serviceman's pay. Sure, he said, plenty, blackmarket. Ammunition, guns, medicine, mostly sulfa and penicillin, they crave the stuff. . . Possibly, I said, you were selling to the enemy. Very possibly, he said. Why not. Man, there's big shots here safe at home making millions out of this war. . . . They're money-minded, he said. So am I."

•

From the Council's Decree on the Laity, which both giveth and taketh away: "Lay people should retain the freedom to act on their own initiative" (giveth). "Whether acting on their own initiative or at the invitation of the hierarchy. . .lay people are ultimately under the guidance of the hierarchy itself" (taketh away).

•

The expensive new liturgy (from a parish notice in Chestnut Hills, Mass.): "When the priest will face the people saying Mass—then will the chalice he holds with the precious blood be appreciated. All will want to share in the making of the special chalice needed for the new altar. . . For your convenience, you may drop your gold and jewels in the collection box or give them to one of the fathers from now till the Sunday after Easter. God love and bless you all."

•

"I Am a Priest, I Want to Marry," the *Saturday Evening Post* article by the pseudonymous Father Stephen Nash, seems to have touched a nerve in even the most liberal of the clerically-edited magazines. Father John Reedy, editor of *Ave Maria*, found it seasoned with "glibness and schmaltz." He wrote: "If the legislation is changed, the change will not (at least I think it *should* not) hang on an emotional sympathetic response to the situation of this priest, or others like him. . .Sincerely I hope and pray that the *Saturday Evening Post* priest can find happiness and fulfillment (I even hope his ghost editor finds happiness). But I don't want his personal problems (even if they can be multiplied in other individuals) to be the sole determinant of what is best for the Church."

Sign magazine wrote: "If he is correct in assuming that there are many other priests who share his anguish, Father Nash's contact with lay people during fourteen years in the priesthood must have made it evident to him that there are also many men and women in the world who are burdened as he is: lonely adults in the single state who have never found the partner they searched for, husbands and wives trapped in marriage with a spouse who is unfaithful, afflicted with mental illness, etc., separated or divorced Catholics who have no choice but to struggle on as best they can. In the light of God's mysterious providence as it has worked itself out in other lives, it is not hard to believe that what Father Nash wants and what God asks of him may be two different things."

America, though observing starchily that "emotionally charged and semi-autobiographical pleas for and against change have little to offer," did much better. It called on the American bishops to authorize "a reliable and impartial study" that would reveal the true dimensions of the problem, which "may be less—or more—of a problem than we think."

JOHN LEO

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CORRESPONDENCE

"Fictitious Letter"

Chicago, Ill.

To the Editors: As a COMMONWEAL subscriber of more than ten years, I am profoundly hurt by your action of inserting in the "Correspondence" column of March 18, 1966 a fictitious letter—and for two reasons: (1) you insult your readers by expecting them to believe that there remains in the clergy the kind of arrogance and stupidity you compose for (Rev.) Owen J. Pollard, OFM Conv.; (2) you exercise irresponsible journalism by attributing to a reader a letter obviously composed by one of the more anti-clerical members of your staff. JOHN D. BARRY

The Catholic Campus

King of Prussia, Pa.

To the Editors: In your March 11 issue Father John P. Leary of Gonzaga University made a series of comments about current discussion of Catholic higher education, directed especially at recent articles by William Kelly and John Leo. I am probably not in complete agreement with either Mr. Kelly or Mr. Leo, and do not wish to undertake a point-by-point rebuttal of Father Leary's remarks. I am concerned, however, about some assumptions implicit in Father Leary's letter which I think are in themselves rather troubling to the present condition of the Catholic colleges.

Father Leary introduces a concept of "the right of ownership" that leaves me somewhat taken aback. I am no lawyer, and have never been in Washington State or near Father Leary's institution. I do know, however, that most of our colleges are chartered as non-profit corporations; that they are legally considered to be "owned" by nobody; that they are not run by stockholders, but by trustees; and that the obligation of the trustees is to direct the institution toward the goals for which it was

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THE BISHOPS AND VIETNAM

In its March 30 issue, the *National Catholic Reporter* revealed that it had sent a letter to 225 American Catholic bishops putting three questions about the war in Vietnam. The questions asked for opinions on the goals and conduct of the war, the relative silence of Catholic spokesmen on the war, and the question of claiming conscientious objection to a particular war. The *Reporter* waited five weeks before publishing the results: there were six replies. Of the six, only three had anything to say for the record about Vietnam. One said we were in Vietnam for worthy reasons; one said he wholeheartedly supported our war effort and thought most Catholic leaders agreed; one said he didn't have all the facts and therefore had to go along with the government.

The response sheds more light on the operations of the hierarchy than on their thinking about the war. Whatever the reasons, the bishops have not seen fit to communicate their feelings about the moral issues involved. It is possible, of course, as the *Reporter* pointed out, that the massive non-response was a repudiation of a Catholic editor's right to poll bishops on the issue. That is a separate problem, but if it is central here, we would expect the bishops to make their views on Vietnam known through other channels. In fact, they haven't. No one knows where they stand. As Edward Fiske wrote in his New York *Times* article "War and the Clergy"—the article which stimulated the *Reporter* poll—"The main exception to the general trend, of course, is the American hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, which has been largely silent. . . ."

It is also possible that the hierarchy prefers to speak with one voice about Vietnam in a general statement prepared after nationwide consultation. But the crucial issues have been visible for two years at least and no general statement has been forthcoming, nor has there been any known attempt to get one together. It is possible, too, that the bishops have not spoken out because, like many Americans, they are confused by the com-

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plexities of the war and do not feel competent to pass judgment on the actions of better-informed men working much closer to the heart of the problem.

Even so, after all these things are said, the near-total silence must be judged a scandal. Vietnam, in our opinion, is the number one moral problem confronting the American people, and those entrusted with moral leadership might be expected to address themselves to it. Bishop Wright's sponsorship of the recent peace conference in Washington is virtually the only beacon from the bishops. It may be, as one bishop wrote to the *Reporter,* that "no valid conclusions can be drawn from silence," but this hardly means that silence is an adequate performance, given the magnitude of America's moral dilemma in Vietnam. Silence does not even achieve a sort of bleak neutrality, since it tends to come down on one side of the controversy—as a form of endorsement of current ends and means, since the popular presumption is that our most prominent moral leaders would certainly speak out if they saw serious moral deviations in our conduct of the war.

Part of the problem is undoubtedly that the bishops see themselves essentially as spokesmen, and as spokesmen, rather than as individual moral leaders, there is probably nothing decisive they can say on the issue—no American Catholic consensus to reflect, no direct translation of Christian values into political terms that could definitively stand on its own merits. We do not look to the hierarchy for a specific judgment on the war, but for leadership in directing individual Catholics to face the moral issues involved. The paralysis that expresses itself with the "we-don't-know-all-the-facts" argument is not a respectable way out. We never know all the facts; there always is doubt, and to resolve all doubt in favor of the status quo is to confess the bankruptcy of moral witness before the confusion that surrounds any complex problem. The bishops may not be in any position to decide specifics about Vietnam, but by the fact of their office they are pre-eminently in a position to point out relevant moral considerations. A refusal to direct the moral attention of believers to this issue, whatever the rationalization, is a failure that cannot be explained away.

OBSCENITY RULING

With nine Justices writing fourteen separate opinions on three cases, those so inclined will have no difficulty in misconstruing the significance of the recent Supreme Court decisions on obscenity and the First Amendment. Indeed, in a dissenting opinion on the Ginzburg case, Justice Black declared: "It is obvious that the effect of the Court's decision in the three obscenity cases handed down today is to make it exceedingly dangerous for people to discuss either orally or in writing anything about sex." Which is palpable nonsense.

The eye of the controversy and the occasion for Justice Black's outburst was, of course, Justice Brennan's majority opinion upholding the conviction of Ralph Ginzburg for sending obscene publications (his magazine *Eros,* a biweekly newsletter and a book, *The Housewife's Handbook on Selective Promiscuity*) through the mails. Brennan based his decision on the Supreme Court's definition of obscenity set forth in the 1957 Roth case: that "to the average persons, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to prurient interest" and that, further, the material is "utterly without redeeming social importance." What raised the dust, however, was Justice Brennan's insistance that "the setting in which the publications were presented"—i.e., advertising and promotional material—were relevant, and in fact decisively relevant, to the question of whether Ginzburg's wares did or did not fall under the Roth definition. This led Justice Douglas to protest that "a book should stand on its own, irrespective of . . . the wiles used in selling it"; and has led others to conjure up nightmares (or happy visions, according to their taste) of nationwide censorship of advertising.

We can see their point. Justice Brennan generally argues that in *ambiguous* cases of obscenity the nature of the advertising and promotional material is a critical key to the real nature of the questionable material itself: why not look to the seller's own opinion of what his goods are all about? Yet there are arguments—and, without doubt, implications—running through Brennan's opinion which seem to treat the character of the advertising and promotion not simply as an important clue to the real nature of the material but as an independent factor, which either by "pandering" or "titillation" constitutes an offense in itself, or by altering the "context" in which a publication is read (or even changing the audience which reads it) can actually change a non-obscene work to an obscene one. To this extent, Brennan's opinion is an unprecedented departure, which hardly seems to fall within the bounds of the Roth definition and which, therefore, does no justice to Mr. Ginzburg's case.

If Justice Brennan's advertence to advertising were taken in its narrow sense ("the circumstances of presentation and dissemination of material are equally relevant to determining whether social importance

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claimed for material in the courtroom was, in the circumstances, pretense or reality"), we would have no objection. It would take a simpleton or a dishonest man to maintain that the clause in the Roth definition exempting material with "redeeming social importance" from obscenity prosecution cannot be abused at will by pseudo-scientific trumpery unless there is some way to get at the real significance of the material; and the seller's advertising is not a bad way to determine this significance. Of course, if one is not really serious about the Roth definition at all but merely would like to see it on the books—unenforceable—as a cover for no obscenity standard of any kind, then that is another matter.

There, perhaps, is where the real problem lies. Even the Roth definition does not confront the pornography problem at its root. Pornography laws can be justified for only two purposes. The first is to prevent violent, aggressive acts which (theoretically) could result from exposure to pornography. Any laws for this purpose would have to be based on hard evidence that there is a relationship between pornography and sexual aggressions; the problem is no different than establishing the relationship between violence and toy weapons or between alcohol and traffic accidents, and legislating accordingly. The second purpose is to protect the right of parents to guide the development of their children's private attitudes toward sex, a task which in certain instances is made extraordinarily difficult by the availability—and promotion—of pornography. The Roth definition relates directly to neither of these purposes but serves them only insofar as it also restricts the reading matter of adults—which is a silly and dangerous business for government to be in. In short, we think that children are the issue and that until obscenity laws can distinguish between the protection offered under the First Amendment to material distributed to children and that distributed to adults, the Supreme Court rulings will be as confused and entangled as the recent ones.

DR. LEARY'S CONVICTION

As Dr. Timothy Leary has discovered, the way of the pioneer is never easy. Almost three years ago he was discharged from the Harvard faculty for failing to meet his teaching obligations. That at least was the official charge. But it would have been more to the point for Harvard to have said that his experiments with LSD and other psychedelic drugs, the cult he and his followers created about them, and the numerous medical worries about the drugs themselves, all conspired to make him *persona non grata* in the university. Undeterred, he carried on his work, first of all founding a journal devoted to psychedelic matters and then establishing the Castalia Foundation in Millbrook, N.Y., devoted to experiments with hallucinogenic drugs. All this time, he managed to avoid the law. On March 11, it caught up with him. A federal judge sentenced Dr. Leary to thirty years' imprisonment on two marijuana charges and ordered his daughter sent to a federal reformatory.

Predictably enough, a "Timothy Leary Defense Fund" has now been established, and it is hard to fault its case. Whatever one may think of Dr. Leary's work and views, a sentence of thirty years for the possession of one-half ounce of marijuana goes beyond the limits of rationality; it is "cruel and unusual punishment." No claim was made that Dr. Leary is a professional narcotics profiteer. No claim was made that he intended to use the marijuana for purposes other than his experiments. No claim was made that he has been, or is about to become, an habitual criminal. He was indicted, convicted and sentenced on the letter of the law. Even if, as some have speculated, the purpose of the extreme sentence was to make possible a psychiatric examination, and hence a possible reduction of the sentence, it is not at all clear why Dr. Leary requires or should be subjected to such an examination.

We have no special sympathy for Dr. Leary's experiments. They strike us as bizarre, of doubtful scientific use, and shot through with a highly superficial kind of religiosity. But that is beside the point. We see no reason why he should not be allowed to pursue his work; whatever its intrinsic value, there is nothing criminal about it. No one denies that Dr. Leary broke the law. What is denied is that this particular law should apply to someone like Dr. Leary.

Some of Dr. Leary's supporters go further. They argue that the laws covering marijuana should be modified or removed altogether. Hence, they see Dr. Leary as a double victim: of a harsh law too stringently applied and of a law which is of doubtful value in the first place. We are not prepared to go quite so far on the second point, at least not until the scientific evidence is conclusive that marijuana is as safe as some of its advocates claim. That problem aside, however, there is no justification for a law which fails to make any distinctions whatever, lumping together all violators regardless of their standing and intentions.

For many years, we have urged a thorough reform in federal narcotics laws. Others have done the same. But it has all been to little avail. The attitude of the public still seems to be total horror at the thought of

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change. This attitude is understandable, if not justifiable. There are such people as "dope peddlers" and they do great harm. Narcotics addiction is, in too many cases, destructive of mind and body. Yet there is by now ample medical evidence that punitive laws do little good: they do not cure addicts and they have not stopped the flow of illegal narcotics. All they manage to do is dodge the real issue: the need for concentrated medical and psychological research into methods of caring for and curing addicts. The advent of the hallucinogenic drugs, and the further complications they add, makes this need all the more imperative.

BRITAIN'S LABOR

British Prime Minister Harold Wilson no longer enjoys the luxury of a slim three-seat majority in Commons. He no longer can use that as an excuse for everything that is wrong in Britain, or so his political adversaries claim. By the funny talk of politics this presumably means Labor's new 97-seat margin is a handicap, but to some extent this does reflect the curious behavior of the Wilson government during the past 18 months and the difficulties it faces in the coming year.

The performance of the Wilson government on a number of key issues cannot be regarded as anything but a disappointment for Labor supporters. Even the Labor center recognizes this, though it points out rightly enough that it was only with the greatest difficulty that Britain's annual balance of payments deficit was halved last year. This is not enough, and neither is the headway that has been made in enforcing effective wage and price controls. Labor apologists argue, again rightly enough, that the key to carrying out Labor's program of social reform at home and a liberal policy abroad is Britain's economic recovery. The failures are temporary, they say, a result of the precarious majority in Commons; and on matters of Rhodesia, Vietnam, immigration policy, they accuse the government's liberal and left-wing critics of refusing to come to grips with the realities of power.

The realities of power over the past 18 months have been humiliating indeed for Wilson's party. Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence was virtually assured success by Prime Minister Wilson's declaration to Rhodesia's blacks that military force would not be used. The Dutch Uncle tone he adopted toward their appeals came embarrassingly close to racial paternalism. During the same month Britain landed troops in Aden, putting down a local rebellion and suspending the colony's constitution.

There is some reason to believe the Wilson government didn't think it could afford the financial strain of a major military intervention such as Rhodesia might have turned out to be. Likewise on Vietnam, it gives the impression that Washington has put the financial screws to it to support U.S. policy. As a result, Wilson has almost totally reversed himself on Vietnam since becoming Prime Minister. But on the strictly domestic issue of immigration policy, the Labor government has been equally quick to drop principle, adopting for all practical purposes the racially discriminatory Tory position.

For the present at least Britain's economic vulnerability is advantageous to the U.S. On the question of British commitments "east of Suez" this has a double effect. By insisting that Britain maintain these commitments when it clearly hasn't the financial resources for the job, the U.S. keeps a willing and manageable partner in Asia. Britain is going along with the fiction because it has little choice, and as it goes along, it has even less chance of achieving its economic recovery, and hence a choice. The Labor government has been working at odds with its moral and political principles for 18 months. Its handicap now is its past performance, not its new-won majority.

SHAKESPEARE VS. STUDENTS

Juliet on a Ladder

Benjamin Franklin High School is red brick Georgian, big, clean and bright on Manhattan's East River shore, set in a still Italian-American neighborhood of old apartment houses and brownstones with projects nearby. The school fronts on Pleasant Avenue where in warm weather 11-year-old boys—nearly all Italian-American—in white shirts, dark blue trousers and ties take a lunch break from Our Lady of Mount Carmel School across the street and play stoop ball off the base of a red fire alarm box.

The Franklin students are mainly Negro and Puerto Rican from Harlem and the nearby South Bronx. The long auditorium where they were gathering this morning is like the rest of the school, well made, spacious and as the Industrial Arts chairman put it, underutilized. The students underutilize the school by a high absence rate, by cutting classes, or by leaving school early because they have after-school jobs.

The assembly came to order in the usual way—slowly.

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Today it was an English Department program. Knots at the back of the hall broke up gradually and places were taken. "The students are sort of spread around," one of the teachers told me as I looked at the odd unclasslike lots in their seats.

I sat down at the back a few rows behind four boys; two had their coats on. Despite the school administration's pressures to have all coats put away in closets—making escape during the day more difficult—many students kept their coats or outer jackets on: (1) the easier to escape, (2) because theft is so omnipresent they don't dare part with any clothes—everyone seems to have a story of something valuable stolen.

Three of the four in front of me had Afro haircuts—very popular now. Even a very few of the girls are *au naturel* as *Ebony* would put it. One such girl with her hair in a net up and back was pleased when the day before I had shown her a photograph of a three-thousand-year-old wall engraving of Tassili girls wearing "sugar loaves" even as girls today in Senegal—and sometimes in New York.

One of the four in front of me exploded in a wild laugh, looked around at me and exploded again. The others joined. Assemblies are the same as school hallways where occasional outbursts no longer seem to bring teachers' heads popping. Soon the flag was brought out and there was a slow lumpy rising. "I pledge allegiance" (and other mumbling), mumbling, a hairy "Oh say can you see," then mumbling, then seats, more mumbling and a less than vigorous hymn. Two weeks earlier a guest speaker who was a Princeton grad looked down from the stage frozen-faced at the just such morning exercises.

The mumbling turned down a bit as the principal appeared on stage with a few remarks. Something about Open School Week and how the students hadn't relayed the message home and how their parents really were interested. Then Miss Weinstein who had arranged the program and worked long hours on it announced the theme would be in part Shakespearian; first the balcony scene from "Romeo and Juliet," then a couple of things from "West Side Story."

The lights went out and a broad spotlight played on the closed curtain. The mumbling rose to shivery moans, laughter and a few shrieks. At the piano down in front someone was playing "It is a Lover and His Lass.'" The curtain remained closed. Stamping clapping shouting, "in springtime in springtime, the only pretty ring time."

Even the students seemed relieved, and hushed when after five minutes the curtains slowly began to part, revealing off to the left Juliet in a pink dress perched high upon a ladder. A ladder! The place came apart. The four in front of me doubled over and slapped their knees. Whooee! Some minutes later with the noise subsiding, Romeo appeared on the right and with trepidation moved across the stage to lean on a smaller ladder placed in front of Juliet. A dull spotlight played on the upper half of his body as if to hide what could not be hidden even from the crew way in back—Romeo was wearing tights, and underneath his tights, less clearly but unmistakably, jockey shorts. The hoots and whistling rolled from front to back and burst out in different places as the far-sighted told the less fortunate and as the whole scene became clear. The kids on stage finally began their scene—only we couldn't hear them. The performers' microphone was out of whack, it was as if someone had aimed the speaker system toward the back of the stage. So amid mumbling and wisecracks the piece was concluded and the curtain closed on Romeo spotlighted alone and still at center stage saluted by falsetto cries from down in front. The show went on.

A short scene now from "West Side Story" between American Tony and Puerto Rican Maria. Then another pair came up to the microphone to sing "Tonight." "Only you, only you. . . ." Maria's voice cracked badly on the first line. The hall exploded—hard. It was a little more forced than the ladder laugh. After all, a ladder! Tony and Maria finished their song but the audience gave them scant attention, and weak applause. Next a dance number from "West Side Story." Some half-dozen girls in dungarees danced "Cool" at half-speed. This was more like it. "Turn off the juice boys" almost turned into slithering bumps and grinds. The boys were appreciative.

The principal, who had been pacing about the auditorium, and Miss Weinstein took the stage to deliver some gently chastening remarks. These were after all fellow students on stage with a lot more courage than most of you. The speakers were right. There was a little quiet.

The last act would be from "Raisin in the Sun." It was about this family that finally gets some money. Mama wants to use it to buy a house and her son wants it for a liquor store. Whooee! A liquor store! A couple of my boys gave each other five. Minor commotion. But before the scene could begin a message was delivered to Miss Weinstein onstage. She conferred with the principal. It seems the assembly had been very long; students were to stay but the teachers were to leave. Applause. Laughter again as teachers walked quickly up the aisles and my four turned around, jeering, jabbing toward the back doors, "Go, go!" Next day a boy told me they never did put on the bit from "Raisin in the Sun."

BEN WAKNIN

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ALL THINGS CONSIDERED

THE NOTRE DAME CONFERENCE

Almost every year there is one event that is *the* affair. This year I suspect that it will be Notre Dame's recent international conference on the theological issues of Vatican II. Not everybody was there—I am thinking here of men like Fathers Hans Küng and Gregory Baum, both of whom were missing—but so many distinguished bishops and theologians participated that the event could not help but be memorable.

The conference went on for a full week, and during the course of that seven days almost forty major papers were delivered, plus scores of informal comments, answers to questions and the like. I could not begin to summarize the proceedings here, and some papers do not lend themselves to easy quotation. But perhaps I can convey some idea of the affair by citing a few more-or-less representative contributions.

Things started out quietly enough, and for the first day or two there was even the suspicion that the conference was "under wraps." There were in general two kinds of paper delivered: those explicating the texts of Vatican II and those discussing the issues. The first category was probably necessary enough, for the enlightenment of historians, but most of them were not calculated to set a meeting on fire, and unfortunately in the early part of the conference there tended to be a preponderance of just such papers. Then there was the matter of questions: for the first day or two all questions had to be submitted in writing for selection by those running the show, and in the beginning the suspicion was strong that this procedure was intended to keep the affair "safe"—heaven knows it would have kept it dull. But by the end of the second day those in charge gave up on this rule, and this fact plus a general increase in immediacy on the part of the speakers saved the day.

Many Catholics probably still think of the Council as "radical." Father Henri de Lubac, S.J., offered some clarification on this point. "Neither in its doctrinal elements nor in its parochial orientations could this Council be called 'conservative.' But here we must know how to distinguish carefully two terms which there is a strong tendency to confuse: 'conservative' does not mean 'traditional.' In fact it can be quite the contrary."

A large danger is that a conference like this—and we ourselves—get "too churchy," as if God were interested only in religion. In making suggestions for future doctrinal developments, Canon Francois Houtart described the current situation: "The history of the last centuries," he said, "shows how a real divorce has progressively come about between the Church and the world. . . . Christians, often with reason, were not considered among the people 'taking the world seriously,' because this 'world' was not integrated in their vision of faith."

Along these lines Father John Courtney Murray, S.J., offered some distinctly non-triumphal comments on the Declaration on Religious Freedom, of which he was a principal architect. "Its achievement," Father Murray said, "was simply to bring the Church abreast of the developments that have occurred in the secular world. The fact is the right of men to religious freedom has already been accepted and affirmed by the common consciousness of mankind."

By virtue of such contributions the conference was stimulating, but it was not without its contradictions, implicit if not explicit. Thus Father Yves Congar, O.P., asserted: "It is a fact that we are emerging from a view of the Church with juridical overtones. It had been necessary, in order to meet the denials and misunderstandings of Protestants, to affirm the visibility of the Church and of its hierarchical structure, and therefore also its juridical nature. Too often this was all that was spoken of, everything seemed to consist of this. The Church was the clergy; it was even the Pope; the faithful were hardly more than the object over which the clergy exercised authority and concern."

In a similar vein Abbot Christopher Butler, O.S.B., of Downside Abbey asserted: ". . . the Council is not to be conceived as just a private windfall for theologians, nor as a new scheme of canon law for prelates and administrators. More perhaps than any previous Council, it is a challenge, and the promise of an inspiration, for the whole people of God. The layman must claim his share, the lion's share in it."

With this vision of the layman put forward by Father Congar and Abbot Butler I could not agree more. But in fact the conference itself illustrated the problem we face: the proceedings were good, but during the entire week there was exactly one layman on the program, and he was a substitute for a priest unable to attend, at that. We have come a long way, as the Notre Dame meeting testifies, but we still have a very long way to go.

JAMES O'GARA

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THE POLITICS OF OUTRAGE

Notes on the student left

MICHAEL ROGIN

I would like to explain my students to the friends of my parents. My students? The Berkeley kids who participated in or supported the Free Speech Movement. At Berkeley explanations were not needed. Most of the faculty one cared about supported the kids' demands and sympathized with their style. As for the others, individual exceptions aside, they generally fell into two groups. Some represented the old university—paternalistic, conservative old-timers absorbed by their loyalty to the institution. Others were part of the multiversity—younger, ambitious manipulators with institute connections, practiced in the uses of the university. No identity problems for me here.

Besides, one knew the kids; one taught them. There were the children of intellectuals, radicals, or New York Jews. There were those from the Jewish ghettos, in Los Angeles and the San Fernando Valley. Here there was some cultural explanation. But most impressive were the girl from a lower-middle class Protestant Alameda family, the son of Greek immigrants from San José. Where did these 19-year-olds get their sensibilities; how did they know so much? To get to learn from sixteen of the best of them, as I was fortunate enough to do during the year of the Berkeley revolt, was a remarkable experience. Of course, many were not so serious nor so impressive as the best. Maybe the total milieu contained too much studied innocence, too much *Gemeinschaft*, to suit my taste. But this was, over-all, a remarkable, dedicated, creative bunch of kids.

The friends of my parents: old socialists and trade unionists, nice Jewish ex-radicals from that older radical generation. Now they work for the government, or in the trade union bureaucracies. But the anecdotes remain, the nostalgia is powerful, the words to the *International* are still remembered. I liked these people; I admired them. In a corner of my mind as I participated in a small way in the Berkeley revolution was the thought of the anecdotes I could contribute, the pedigree in radicalism I had earned. So when I came back to Washington for the summer (not New York, the city of the 1930's, but Washington, with its union headquarters and government bureaus; already something was wrong), when I came back east for the summer, I had something to bring—stories, commitments, things to fulfill my tradition, things to make me feel at home.

But the East is a long way from Berkeley. There we heard much about the civil rights movement's public war against racism, little about its private quarrels. Here those quarrels dominated civil rights discussions. There one conversed about the basic moral questions; here it was a matter of Washington manipulation and congressional pressure politics. One knew that the old radicals here did not share one's own attitudes toward Vietnam, but one had not expected quite so untroubled an atmosphere; again tactics preempted the discussions. Certainly one knew there were differences between one's parents' friends and one's students. But one was hardly prepared for the distrust, the confusion, even the rage directed against the young radicals. One was

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quite certain that had there been no obscenity incident at Berkeley, the old radicals would have had to invent it, so pleased were they to find a legitimate outlet for their suspicions. Though the four-letter word fracas received little support from FSM leaders and rank-and-file, it demonstrated to the old radicals the childish irrationality of the movement.

But neither the Free Speech Movement (FSM) nor current political stances always distinguished the young radicals from the old ones. Consider Irving Howe, radical spokesman for the old left, quite sound on the FSM, but vitriolic on the new left in general. Like others who still consider themselves socialists, he is perhaps closer to the ex-radicals than to the new ones. This is not to minimize Howe's political differences with other members of the old generation. Even less do the students present a unified, political line. But as one read more articles, participated in more conversations, a basic fact became clear. There were two styles of politics here, one for the old left one for the new, and these styles were mutually incomprehensible. Dialogues could occur only among the generations, not between them. One would take sides in the dialogues, of course. Often on specific issues agreement and disagreement crossed generational lines. But there remained a gulf between the older generation of Jewish socialists and the SNCC-FSM radical youth. To comprehend the feeling about life which separated the generations, one had to return to the matter of style.

Style and Meaning

Consider the churches. Today they signify Negro protest in the south, white support in the north, ministers killed in Cleveland, nuns marching in Montgomery. Who could have imagined them leading the social struggles of the 1930s? The Church—that meant Spain, that meant Southern autocracy in the textile communities, that meant opiates to the masses. For those days saw the struggle of one class against another. The classes had interests. One supported some interests against others. The Church (a vested interest) was conservative. The radicals had other ideas. They were after power; they were going to reorganize society. Reason was on their side; emotion stood in their way. The left of the 1930s was a discursive left. It knew what it wanted. Today it would like to know what the kids want. It strongly doubts that they know what they want.

The kids are an outraged left. Official society nauseates them. (One, who works in the District library, left his job for two days to march in the Washington Vietnam demonstrations. He returned from jail to find A.W.O.L. stamped on his record. "What kind of a place is this where they have to use army terms?" Not something one expects from a bourgeois institution; not something one organizes to fight against; these kids live every day with a renewed sense of shock.) Their style is closer to Protestant religious dissent, Negro and white, than to the discursive Jewish, secular radicalism of my parents' generation. It is just the 1930s

style of politics—interest politics, calculation politics, structured, power politics—against which they rebel. Those who try to be practical, who think in terms of consequences, do not wind up changing society, say the kids. They rather wind up in the smaller and more conservative realm of Washington salons. And the kids point to the degeneration of the old left as their example. They rather begin by divorcing themselves, personally, from the hypocrisy, corruption and decay of the visible world. They create separate communities; they take a moral stand. And the physical insistence of these communities has consequences in the official world, far greater consequences, say the kids, than the calculated decisions of old-politics. Thus, not to plan consequences is the best way to be effective.

Now there is immediate and there is historic truth in this. Perhaps in other societies and in other times the left has been rational, the right emotional. But the American left has always contained a strong feeling that to begin to think, to plan, to calculate, to be practical (for these are all synonyms in America) is to take the first step on a one-way street toward accommodation. One finds this in the politics of Abolitionism, of Populism, of IWWism. As a political mood, it is akin to the literature of nostalgia, innocence, and illusion (Mark Twain, Sherwood Anderson, John Cheever). In the confident world of the 1930s, such politics and such literature was quixotic; certainly, as the Bolsheviks used to say, it had nothing in common with Marxism. And American intellectuals in the 1950s continually ridiculed the fear of being corrupted by reality. Surely one knew by now that purity, and anti-

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intellectual purity at that, had nothing to with politics.

But one learned something else in the 1950s; one learned from Irving Howe a lesson he has more recently neglected—that in a conservative and corrupt society the price of political involvement may be conservatism and corruption, that in such a society art, literature, and moral criticism perform essential political functions. And when a civil rights movement began to emerge in the late 1950s, it emerged out of that instinct—and demonstrated that moral indignation could be an effective political weapon. Berkeley taught us this again, concretely and immediately. From the seizure of the police car until the faculty resolution two months later, most of us on the faculty were practical; we thought about consequences, we sought compromises and deals. The FSM—led by civil rights activists, not scions of the old, radical political groups—had only one tactic. It presented with its bodies the validity of its demands. The strength of its moral position was its winning political weapon. The police invasion of Sproul Hall, provoked by the students, finally mobilized the faculty, too, around principle. Until then we were wrong; they won because they were right.

Of course there was more strategy to it than that, in Berkeley as in civil rights. There were, after all, the bodies; surely this was pressure politics in its most literal sense. But the approach of the new left toward the problem of bodies only increases the distance from the old generation. For the 1930s bodies meant numbers, political power. For today's left bodies are strategic, but they are also expressive. Bodies connote rhythm, beat, total involvement. Consider the music—not the hymns of protest, produced as much by the old radicals as by the young ones—by Bob Dylan and the Beatles. Much more could be said about the Beatle mood, the Dylan mood, but I stop with a grosser observation. Never before have the young intellectuals and the young masses liked the same music. Here, in this contact, hope seems to lie. SNCC, SDS, orient toward the most deprived masses, Negro and white. When have these masses marched in demonstrations? When have they desired to get out of Vietnam? When has their radicalism been more than nihilistic; when has it not been assuaged by cars and televisions? Still, there is the feeling, symbolized by the music that if only one could tap the vitality of the masses, one could transform America. Not the classes in their relation to the means of production but the masses in their lack of relation to the hypocrisy and sophistication, the ambition and oppressiveness, of the Great Society. Here the new left finds the potential for something more spontaneous, more real, than the life of the respectable world.

Such a dream has American roots—Wobbly, Populist, even Jeffersonian. Perhaps more striking is the parallel with the *Narodnya Volya,* the young Russian intellectuals who Went to the People in the 1870's. Almost certainly the new left's dream, badly stated, is as quixotic and sentimental as the Russians' was. Equally certainly such a dream produces the Fannie Lou Hamers, who speak with a voice close to SNCC's, far from New York and Washington.

Masses Replace Classes

No wonder the old radicals do not feel at home. Before them is a politics of virtue not skill, of morality not interests, of innocence not sophistication. Where they organized pressure, the new left promotes spontaneity. Outrage replaces reason, masses replace classes. Certainly the old radicals have changed, are more comfortable now; but they were never like this. Still, in one important way their attitudes differ from those they held in their youth. Far more pro-American than they used to be, the old radicals are perhaps most angered by the anti-Americanism of the kids. And they do raise an embarrassing question. For how can a politics of moral indignation be so effective in an immoral society? Let us approach the answer obliquely.

Consider the admiration felt for Hannah Arendt by the young intelligentsia of the left. Miss Arendt is not a favorite of the old radicals. For Irving Howe and Lionel Abel she is simply an obfuscating conservative. Indeed, several years back *Dissent* gleefully printed an attack by Arendt on the civil rights movement. But the kids had barely reached puberty in 1957; they have not read that piece. They have read instead *The Human Condition, On Revolution,* maybe *Eichmann in Jerusalem.* They share with Arendt a revulsion at interest politics; they long with her for a politics of examination and community. But there is more to it than that. In the Eichmann book the point of contact is perhaps clearest, for Arendt's prescription for the Jews is similar to SNCC's politics for the Negro.

The horror of Nazism, as she sees it, lay partly in the Jewish response—the cooperation of the leadership, the failure of the Jews to refuse to compromise with evil. Had they only extricated themselves completely from the Nazi tentacles, hundreds of thousands of Jews, perhaps millions, would not have died. For the kids America is also evil society; the Negroes must not corrupt and destroy themselves by participating in it. This is Arendt's argument applied to America. But surely it is absurd to equate America with Nazi Germany, or the fate Negroes would suffer by cooperating

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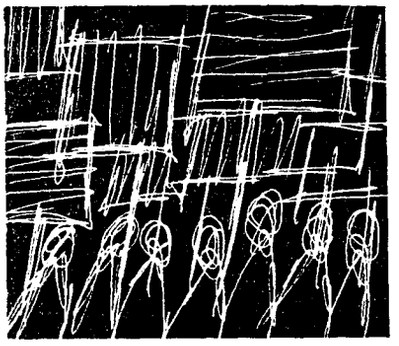
with Johnson to the fate of the Jews. According to this line of thinking, if Arendt's attack on cooperation makes some sense, SNCC's is apocalyptic.

Exactly the reverse is true. For Arendt's argument depends on the view that the Nazis had to disguise from themselves what they were doing. Eichmann vomited at the sight of violence and was a mild, little man; only as a bureaucrat could he be a murderer. The balance of Nazi terror depended on abstraction; the job of the Jews was to strip the veils from the Nazi atrocities. And so the inevitable conclusion from the premise about the Jews and the premise about the Nazis: if only the Jews had spoken out, had made visible the horror of the Nazi terror, the Nazis would have let up. It is the wish of the child, that if he lets himself go and is as angry with his parents as he feels, they will stop hurting him. The trouble was, the Nazis were already facing themselves. As Norman Podhoretz writes, "No person could have joined the Nazi party, let alone the S.S., who was not at the very least a *vicious* anti-Semite; . . . no person of conscience could have participated knowingly in mass murder."

The politics of SNCC, of Berkeley, of Hannah Arendt are a politics of outrage and moral purity. But the point is not the obvious one, that such a view is virulently anti-American (or anti-Nazi). Rather to believe that exposing hypocrisy (or murder) will stop the hypocrite from lying, the murderer from killing, indicates considerable faith in the attacked authority. Appalling in the case of the Nazis, which is why *Eichmann in Jerusalem* is ultimately a frightening book. Perhaps not so absurd in the case of official America. To put it more precisely, in so far as the Establishment lives on an ideology of morality, it cannot permit itself to be exposed as immoral. One hears in Washington that at least Johnson (at this writing) has not machine-gunned all the the Dominican rebels. However, the Dominican invasion was only possible because Johnson does not think of himself as a murderer. About Johnson Arendt is right; he can be an imperialist because his ideology disguises him from himself. His ideology, his abstractions, therefore provide leverage for those opposed to his actual policies. The leverage is most effective where, as in civil rights, the ideology is unambiguously democratic. It is the Establishment's need for moral clothing, not merely its fear of disorder, which renders powerful the moral weapons of the young radicals. Hence to expose hypocrisy is to force action.

The politics of exposure is simply one more thing beyond the comprehension of the old left. For in the twenties and thirties the enemy admitted what he was; he had to be conquered not exposed. In the mass society the kids see, the enemy is in all of us, and must be exorcised. For the new left conscience is the political arena, instilling guilt the political weapon. When the young radicals face the corruption in themselves, they force those in power to face it in themselves. That is the most political thing they can do.



This Calvinist atmosphere makes the old radicals very angry. They are caught between the expurgated guilt of the young and the exposed guilt of the Establishment. They do not like being made to feel guilty and hypocritical (They do their jobs, work for liberal causes, involve themselves in the day-to-day politics of official America. Perhaps they have been seduced by comfort and fame; perhaps they are not doing enough.) The old radicals do not like a radicalism that works religiously, on the insides. They like to know where they stand. They would like to be left alone. They would like to know what the kids want; then, like parents, they could satisfy them and quiet them down.

I went to college in the fifties, when things were no longer simple (except in foreign policy). It was a dulling experience, that disappearance of good guys and bad guys; I learned to play chess. The radicalism of the sixties reasserts the reality of good and evil, but it enacts a morality play not a western movie. For the aim of the kids is not to confront the bad guys on a battlefield, but rather to expose the evil in others, preserve the good in themselves. If the old radicals rely on the Establishment in their way, the young ones do the same in theirs. Both stances are the product of the weakness of a substantial left in America. Sometimes I imagine myself faced with America before the CIO, say around 1910. I could work in the AFL unions or support the IWW—Victor Berger or Big Bill Haywood. Which would I choose? For me it is a question, though I know where my sympathies lie. For the radical generation I teach, as for that which taught me, it is not.

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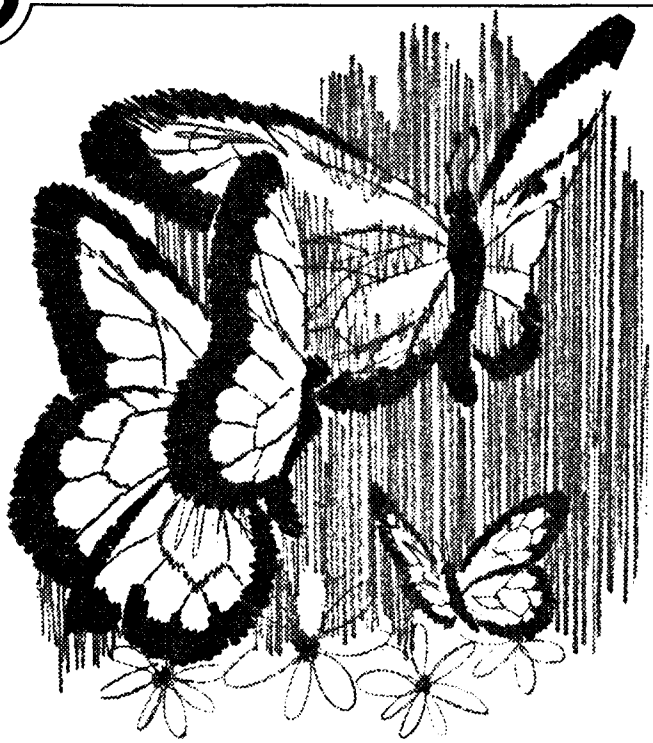

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THE PLACE OF RELIGION

ANDREW M. GREELEY

As a punishment for my sins I have been required (by the Carnegie Corporation) to wander like some sociological Flying Dutchman around Catholic campuses for the past year, trying to understand the problems and prospects of Catholic higher education. A full account of the adventures my colleagues and I have experienced on this hazardous journey will have to wait for another occasion. But one point at least needs to be made: it is now time for a serious consideration of the place of religion (as distinct from theology) on the Catholic campus.

A Catholic campus is not only a locus for scientific and artistic instruction; it is also a place where a community of Christians have come together to enter into an established pattern of relations. It is a segment of the pilgrim people of God gathered together for a dialogue which is essentially intellectual. The intellectual dialogue may be only marginally affected by the fact that those engaged in it (faculty, administration, and students) are members of the pilgrim people. But by the very fact that they share communion with Christ through the Holy Spirit their relationship will tend to transcend the merely intellectual and become one of Christian love; I say "transcend," not "replace" or "distort" or "substitute for."

The loving relationship among the partners of the educational enterprise does not take the place of the most rigorous and professional kind of intellectual relationship; it does not in any way interfere with the intellectual relationship. It is essentially voluntary and not at all an academic requirement; it is simply the spontaneous outpouring of the inevitable love which results when two Christian persons encounter one another. The Christian community on campus may take particular forms because some of those who belong to the loving community are young and others are older, and because its intellectual concerns give it a special tone; but essentially it is no different from any Christian community.

In this paper I wish to concentrate on the relationships between the young and old in the loving community which is the campus. I will leave aside for another time the question of the implications of the constitution on the Church (not to say the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*) for relationships between faculty and administration and between clergy and laity in the campus Christian community. It suffices to say that we need not fear that there is no room left for improvement in these relationships.

The most important element in any Christian community is its worship. Indeed if the liturgy is not enacted with dignity and inspiration, then there is reason for grave doubt as to how Christian the rest of the life of the community will be. On recent visits to Catholic colleges, I have observed that on many the Mass is "available," i.e., it is offered frequently and usually hastily with the bare minimum of changes authorized by the Constitution on the Liturgy. There is a notable lack of enthusiasm and even of understanding for the new liturgy, coupled with a regret that the old compulsory Mass attendance rule became so unpopular that it had to be dropped. Often it seems that the liturgical revival consists essentially of having noon and evening masses and turning the altar around. Restrictions imposed by some chancery offices make it difficult in certain colleges to do even those things permitted by the liturgical constitution and by the American bishops; whatever restrictions may be deemed necessary elsewhere in the diocese, diocesan officials ought to recognize that the campus community is a special one with special needs.

Finally, we note that the campus liturgy seems to involve only students; rarely do faculty, lay or clerical, participate in community worship together with the students—save at the compulsory Mass of the Holy Spirit at the beginning of the school year. The paternalistic ethos is still among many Catholic educators. When one observes that campus liturgy leaves much to be desired, the reaction is that there ought to be periodic community Masses to which everyone will be obliged to come. But religious compulsion simply does not belong on the campus. What is required is that divine worship become an exciting, dynamic event in the life of the Christian community on campus; if this happens then

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WILL YOU SUPPORT THIS POSITION ABOUT GOVERNMENT ACTION IN THE FIELD OF FAMILY PLANNING?

Fifty-six prominent Roman Catholics recently endorsed the following statement, presented originally by Rev. Dexter L. Hanley, S.J., of the Georgetown University Law School, to the Family Law Section, American Bar Association, Miami, Florida, August, 1965. Father Hanley later incorporated this statement as part of his testimony before the Sub Committee on Foreign Aid Expenditures of the Committee on Government Operations, U. S. Senate, 89th Congress, First Session on S. 1676.

THE STATEMENT FOLLOWS:

1. In a legitimate concern over public health, education, and poverty, the government may properly establish programs which permit citizens to exercise a free choice in matters of responsible parenthood in accordance with their moral standards.

2. In such programs, the government may properly give information and assistance concerning medically accepted forms of family planning, so long as human life and personal rights are safeguarded and no coercion or pressure is exerted against individual moral choice.

3. In such programs, the government should not imply a preference for any particular method of family planning.

4. While norms of private morality may have social dimensions so affecting the common good as to justify opposition to public programs, private moral judgements regarding methods of family planning do not provide a basis for opposition to government programs.

5. Although the use of public funds for purposes of family planning is not objectionable in principle, the manner in which such a program is implemented may pose issues requiring separate consideration.

The Catholic Committee on Population and Government Policy endorses this statement and asks for your public support. Are you willing to take a stand? If you are a Catholic who agrees with the position quoted above, please fill in the coupon and mail it to the address indicated. The Catholic Committee on Population and Government Policy will present this statement, and the names of the signers, to the members of the U. S. House and Senate who are concerned with legislation regarding government action in the field of family planning.

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voluntary attendance will increase rapidly; if it does not happen, forced attendance will not obscure the community's failure at that which is most essential. It seems to me that a campus which, on the one hand, enforces an elaborate system of rules and insists on compulsory retreats and, on the other, has an insipid liturgy really does not understand what the Catholic Church is all about.

A second element in the religious life of the Christian community on campus arises from the fact that a large number of the community's members are in the process of developing their childish or adolescent religious faith into the faith of an adult. Christian charity demands that the community provide an atmosphere in which this growth can most readily take place. Young people should be free to talk about their religious problems (which, let it be emphasized, are not "theological doubts" in the sense used in the old moral theology textbooks); their quest for meaning in life; their anxieties about their own identity; the implications of their religious belief for daily conduct. There are various ways in which this can be done, but one method is the permissive, free-wheeling, unstructured discussion group, presided over by a faculty member and composed of those students who freely attach themselves to given faculty members for the purpose of discussing the meaning of the Christian life. As one who has participated in such groups for more years than I care to remember, I can testify that they are wearying, frustrating, discouraging and probably the best, if not the only, way for young people to translate the faith they have into practice and to grow from childish faith to adult faith.

So often, however, the paternalistic ethos listens to a discussion of the need for such seminars, regrets that it is no longer possible to use the theology class for these purposes, and immediately decides that a program of seminars is to be established to which students will be compelled to go. The whole point has been missed.

Thirdly, the Christian community which is the campus must be a place where young people can obtain help in solving the personal problems which beset those in late adolescence. It seems to be regrettably true that almost every upper-middle-class young person is going to need counseling at some point in his college years. The university is not in the counseling business; it exists to deal with the problems of the intellect, not of the emotions. But the Christian community must be profoundly concerned about the emotional sufferings of its members; a young person with a serious problem has a claim in charity on the help of the rest of the community.

The formal counseling services at Catholic colleges need to be drastically improved, but formal counseling services are not enough, not nearly enough. The trouble with formal counseling is that it is "formal"; the young person must make appointments, fill out questionnaires, take personality tests, and admit that he is in need of a "head shrinker." (Furthermore, the contact with the counseling service of course goes on his "record," a record which despite its confidentiality has a way of coming into the possession of the FBI should the young person later be seeking security clearance.) Emotional problems are frequently pretty far gone before the young person is driven to seek the formal counseling offered by most colleges.

Two additional types of counseling are needed: first, there must be available (in much informal circumstances) a number of fully trained counselors who are not defined as "head shrinkers" but simply as people who are around and to whom you can talk when you need someone to talk to. For practical purposes, it would seem that most of these would be priests and religious. It is rather odd that we put priests and religious in dorms to maintain order and discipline but do not put them there with the skills they need to listen sympathetically to the fears and anxieties of young people. (The paternalistic ethos is much more concerned with maintaining external order than practicing Christian charity.) Second, almost all of the religious functionaries on campus (and maybe some of the laity, too) should have enough training in psychology and enough charity so that they can spot a disturbed student when one approaches them, listen sympathetically, and help either by permitting the student to establish a relationship with them or by directing the student to someone else who can help. Most young people of college age are not persuaded that they are lovable (often because they have never been loved at home) and are desperately seeking love from the campus community. They haven't always been getting it.

This brings us to one of the most crucial elements of the religious life of the campus community of Chris-

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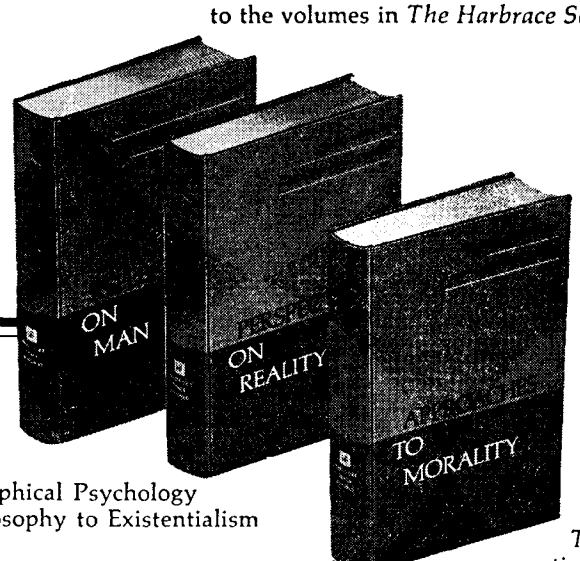

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tians: the clergy (and analogously the religious) must assume the roles of spiritual leadership which the constitution on the Church insists is their function in the Church. On this subject there has been a great deal of nonsense spoken lately. We hear from younger religious that they are essentially academic professionals whose responsibility it is to bear witness to the Lord by excellence in their profession and that personal involvement with their students is an obstacle to this academic excellence and must be kept at a minimum. (A dilemma which my colleague Peter Rossi has summed up as "parish or publish.") I often wonder who these religious faculty members are trying to kid. An academic skill does not absolve one from membership in the human race or in the People of God; nor does it remove the role of responsibility that comes from the clerical (and, to a lesser extent, the religious) state. Their research prevents them from becoming involved with people? Then their research is preventing them from being human beings. I would find this argument much more persuasive if the religious who use it showed any signs of awareness that the lay faculty is involved with its families to a much greater extent than the religious faculty is involved with students and yet seems to get its research done. I do not think that the celibate state exists in the Church so that people can become productive research scholars; and if this is all that results from celibacy the celibate scholar is very likely to end up a stale and crusty bachelor or spinster.

I presume that my own involvement in research gives me license to speak with some degree of conviction on the subject. It is not easy to combine pastoral work and research; it is presumably not easy to combine family life and research either; but it is not easy to be a human being, and we are not therefore authorized to take a simplistic way out by refusing to be human. Dr. Rossi's dilemma of "parish or publish" is one that cannot be resolved; to refuse to live with the dilemma is to refuse to love. We must do research, we must enter into loving relationships with those around us; some kind of lines must be drawn which prevent us from going to one extreme or the other; from so engaging in one role as to destroy the other. We will not have enough time until the day we die. If this is what the Christian life demands of us, then so be it.

If the Christian community on campus is a community of love, then we must expect that there will be great concern for the members of the community as persons. As university, the campus may be content to view everyone as an IBM pack in the office of the registrar; but as a community of Christians the campus must be deeply concerned about the quality of its personal relationships. The Catholic campus community is not worried about this problem because it fears that impersonality will lead to a Berkeley-like incident; it is worried because impersonality is un-Christian. Nor does it immediately become paternalistic and decide that we must have more compulsory "togetherness" to show that we who are members of the Zeta University "family" are all great friends. Rather it strives to provide a climate in which spontaneous friendships can develop. It is very difficult to see how the gigantic dorms which are springing up on Catholic campuses can be very different in the social relationships they engender than their first cousins, the high rise urban renewal slums. The small dorms at Gonzaga, for example, and the small "college" approach being initiated in California at Santa Cruz would seem to me to be particularly interesting innovations—especially if at Catholic schools these small units have a liturgical, apostolic and intellectual life of their own.

When one visits a large number of colleges in the course of a year it is interesting to note that the climate can be so very different in different schools. Some are warm, open places while others are cold, tense and unfriendly. The development of an authentically Christian atmosphere in the campus community is a matter for a book and not a few paragraphs in an article. But let no one say it cannot be done; two schools we visited, Barat College in Lake Forest and Immaculate Heart in Hollywood, have been extraordinarily successful in this effort. The latter has a spirit of Christian "playfulness" unlike anything my colleagues and I have ever seen; we came away feeling that if the laughter that rings through the rather battered halls of IHC and the charity and joy which radiates from the members of this Christian community could be reproduced on, let us say, twenty Catholic campuses, there would be no question about the future of Catholic higher education—and probably no need for our research.

If the campus community is truly Christian it will be engaged in dialogue within itself. Anyone who reads the campus newspapers at Catholic colleges is well aware that dialogue of a sort is going on. Unfortunately, it often seems that neither the old nor the young are listening to each other. For the young there might be some excuse; if at times they are unreasonable, if at times they shout, if at times it is difficult to know what they are trying to say, the reason is that they are still learning how to converse. For the old there is less excuse. To shout back, to grow angry, to refuse to listen, to terminate the conversation by administrative fiat (by firing a newspaper editor, for example), to fail to engage in open discussion constitutes irrational behavior

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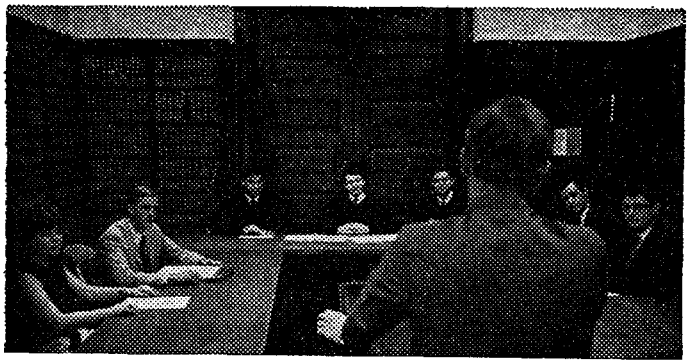

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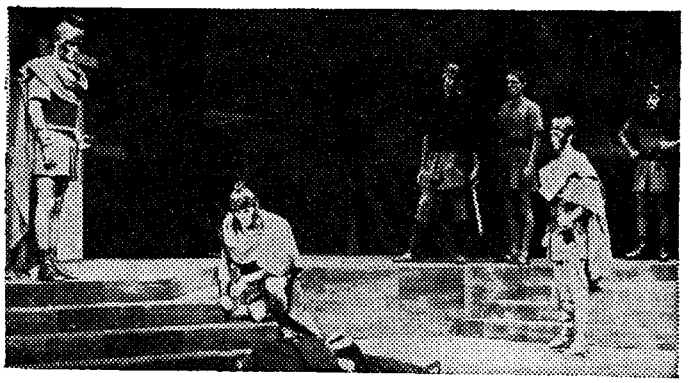

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among those who are presumed to be adult. In addition, such behavior is at odds with what the constitution on the Church says about relations within the Christian community. But the paternalist is the boss; if the students don't like the way he runs his college, then they are perfectly free to go elsewhere.

Finally, like all Christian communities, the campus community must not be closed in on itself; it must be engaged in the works of charity beyond its boundaries. Again, the picture varies from school to school: some are deeply involved in the social problems of the larger communities of which they are a part and others seem to be quite unaware that there are such things as social problems. In many instances students are given very poor example by college administrators who with persistent myopia ignore the changing condition of the physical neighborhood in which the school is located. Many of the so-called apostolic activities of the so-called apostolic groups on campus are busywork. The growth of the tutoring movement suggests that authentic apostolic energies are being generated in some campus communities; nevertheless, I have often found myself wondering why CALM, one of the largest Catholic tutoring projects, did not grow out of a college atmosphere and has caused only perfunctory enthusiasm in some college communities.

The religious problems of the Christian community which is a college campus are quite clearly very complex; and in this article I have only attempted to begin discussion of a few of them. I must admit that I find myself quite overwhelmed by some of the other questions which might be raised: for example, in what sense is a commuter college a Christian community and what role does a commuter student play in a community which also has residents? But because the questions are difficult and because there is still considerable room for improvement, it does not follow that we need despair. Catholic higher education is in an extraordinarily dynamic state at the present time and it is not at all unreasonable to expect that just as the academic life of the campus community is improving so the religious life can improve very rapidly. In my judgment two things are essential for such growth: first of all, religious life must not be confused with or used as a substitute for academic life. We cannot use the religious atmosphere of the campus as an excuse for inadequate academic standards; nor can we make religious functions part of the academic requirements. Secondly, the religious life of the campus community must be informal, voluntary, spontaneous and open; a paternalism which attempts to indoctrinate morality and to compel virtues means death to the religious life of the campus.

PRODUCING THE UNPRODUCIBLE

THE STAGE

Some plays are destined to be badly produced. You might say that they have bad production built into them. "Sergeant Musgrave's Dance" is one such. After a few minutes, you can sense people murmuring, bad production, bad production. Rumor has it that this happens everytime it is put on.

Which must mean that parts of the play are virtually unplayable. The lines read well, but there is no way of saying them right. And no pattern of actors on a stage will convey the effect of certain scenes. The Musgrave caper climaxes in a crowd-scene which works out absolutely wrong. And unless someone comes up with a new way of doing crowd-scenes, it will always work out wrong: and the director will always take the rap for it.

The advantage of writing unproducible plays is all to the author. The audience is apt to feel that great things are being withheld from it by the rascally director; the actors get blamed for botching their unplayable parts; sometimes even the lighting looks bad in an unproducible play. At the same time the concept "production" is so vague and compendious that one can always bury one's uncertainties there. (It is like talking about "a sense of cinema" or a "feeling for the medium": high-sounding shorthand for "how do *I* know what I like about it?")

Actually, Musgrave gets as good a production as most plays. The only thing seriously wrong with it is the alphabet soup of accents that the cast has brewed for itself. Sergeant Musgrave speaks with a Welsh Scottish accent while the others range wildly up and down the British Isles and our own Eastern seaboard. The net effect can only be compared to a Chinese laundry in Brooklyn. On the aural plus side, however, Dudley Moore has written some of the bleakest music this side of purgatory to complement the dark, sodden-looking sets. This is the English midlands without a doubt, whatever those Tibetan Irishmen may be doing there.

The play itself is highly defective: opaque at times, banal at times; alternately preachy and inscrutable; and crammed with broken promises. But in some ways, its defects are like physical uglinesses or deformities that make a man more and not less impressive. It does not even come close to being a good play: but it has

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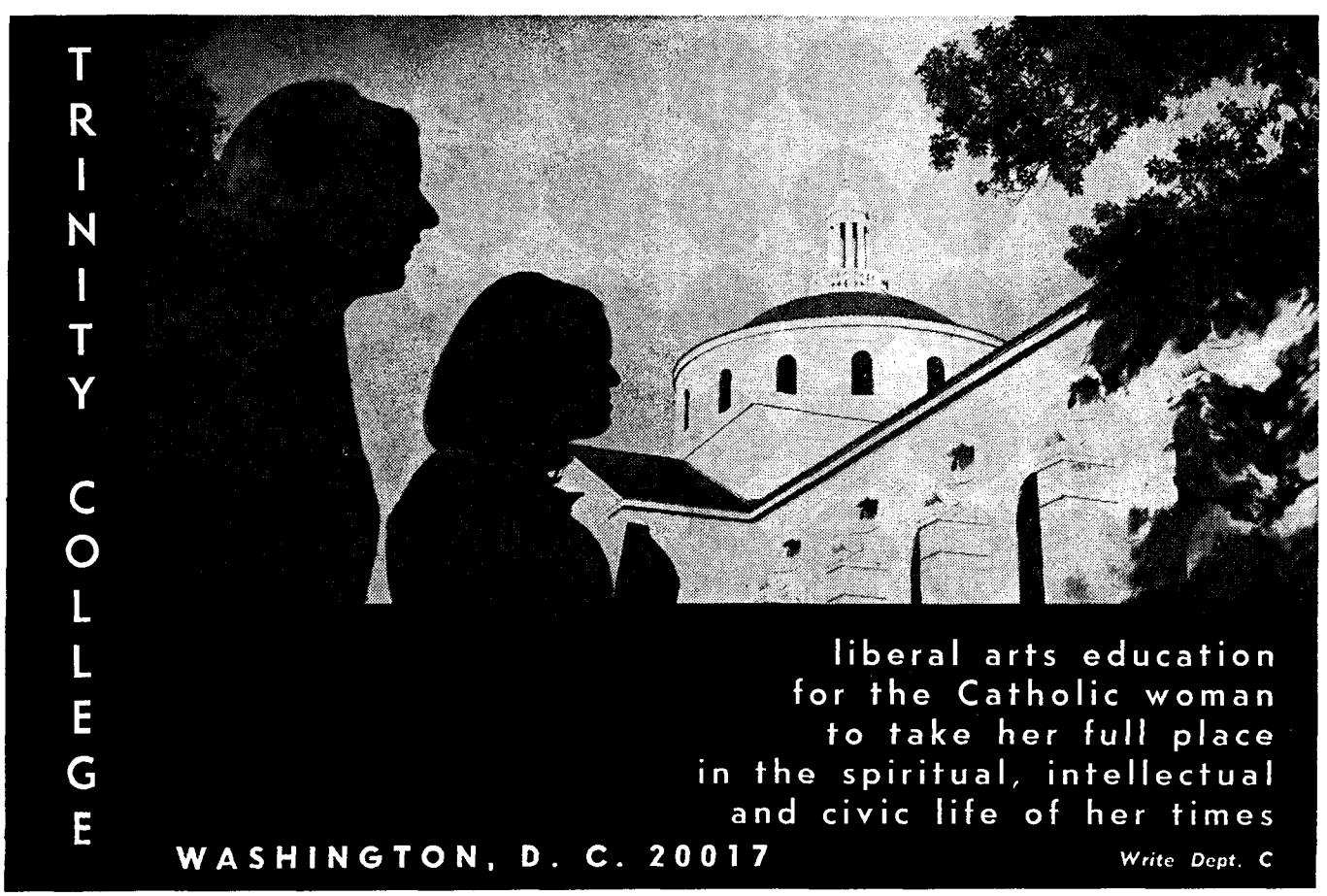
the haunting quality of an ugly face seen in childhood. Or of a bad sermon preached by a true believer.

A pinch of plot: Sergeant Musgrave is a fundamentalist-Christian, lately turned pacifist. It seems he has been simultaneously deranged and enlightened by the execution of some hostages in a conflict not unlike England's recent one in Cyprus (although the play has been set back a century). These hostages he was obliged to round up at a ratio of 5 to 1 in retaliation for the killing of an English soldier; it is now his simple plan to kill some Englishmen at the same ratio: to teach the English what war actually means and to complete the cycle of God's logic.

He therefore returns to the town which the English soldier of the first part came from, with a view to mowing down a few notables with his brand new Crimean War machine gun. Along for the ride are three other deserters, whose case-histories are of a complexity passing all necessity, plus the shrunken bones of the English soldier, which Musgrave plans to hoist like a flag in the public square before gunning down the mayor and the aldermen.

The ultimate point of the play is that Musgrave's pacifism is no pacifism at all: that he is still a soldier, and therefore still a professional killer and licensed maniac. His passion for order and God's logic is precisely the madness of which wars are made; and his little massacre is no more than a soldier's peace. These points are made helter-skelter in the huffing-puffing crowd-scene previously mentioned. The ramifications of plotting all back up into this scene, and everything has to be resolved at Mack Sennett speed. To make things worse, the reality-level drops drastically. The scene disolves into Brechtian fantasy, catching several of the actors with their pants down; and the final melee is the usual Beggar's Opera thing, with the mayor and the parson doing a May-pole dance around the bones of the dead soldier.

It is hard to account for the real mythopoeic power of this fandango. By the next morning, I found that the play's various exasperations had faded, and what remained was a grim sense of the English non-conformist-Protestant conscience still hard at work. Musgrave himself is crazy and his sermon is crazy; but it is part of a larger sermon, saner and kindlier in intent but just as harsh and humorless in delivery—namely the play itself. John Arden is not putting it on for us. He writes as one schooled in the same grim industrial religion as Musgrave, but with certain dour enlightenments; his voice is that of the old hard-nosed preacher



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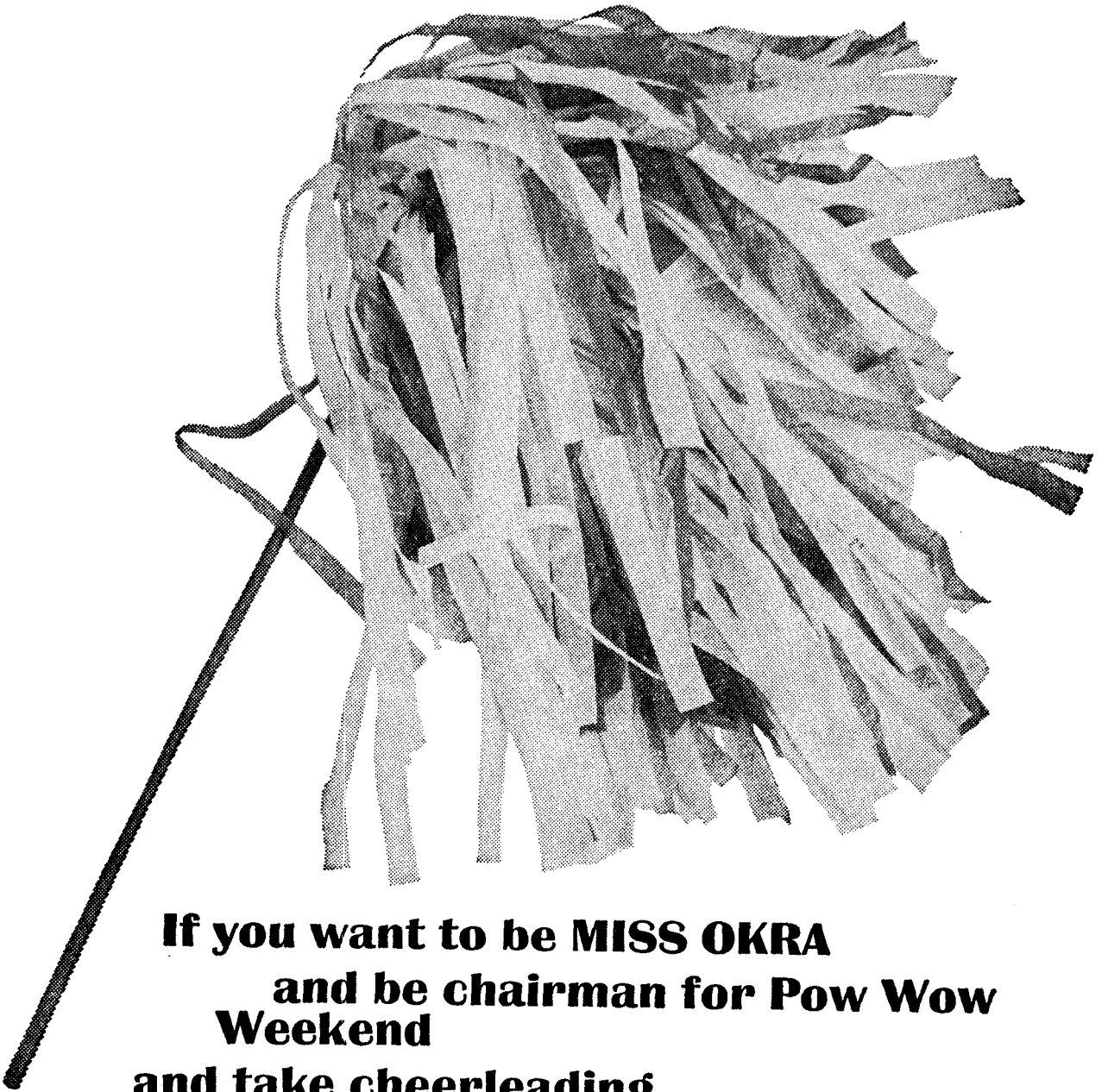

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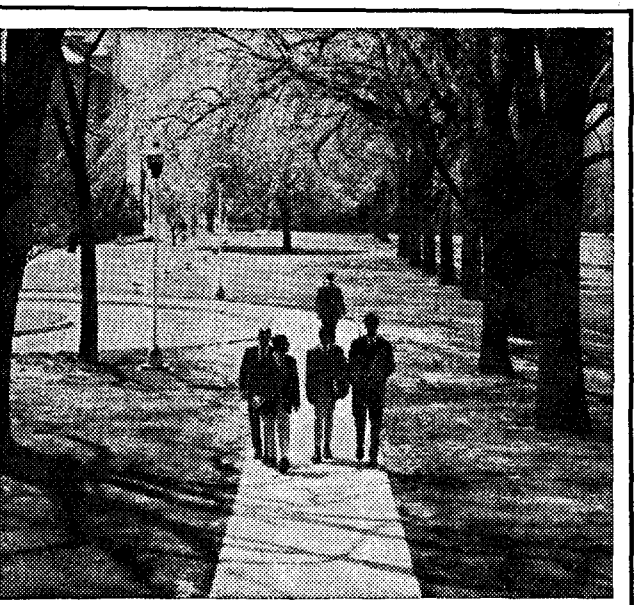

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bringing a message of peace which we had damn well better listen to. The result is cranky and disturbing and, however easily dismissed on the conscious level, the voice remains in your ear. (*At the Theatre de Lys*)

Anyone who has ever come upon any of Maurice Baring's old historical one-acters will be well prepared for "A Lion in Winter." Baring used to mock up, say, a breakfast scene between Henry VIII and Catherine Parr in which each would behave like a typical (stage-typical) modern spouse—she hen-pecking, he complaining about his oatmeal. Very funny for one act. "A Lion in Winter" is a Westport comedy about parents and children, featuring Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. The royal sons look as if they belonged on motorcycles. Eleanor is the wise-cracking ex-spouse. Robert Preston—well you know about Robert Preston by now. After a waspish exchange over the martinis, or the marmsey, or whatever it is they're drinking, Eleanor says "well every family has its ups and downs." The play is filled with period nifties of this type. The dramatic stuff is stitched together all wrong, so that you are rather more excited at the beginning than you are at the end. But it's all, like Baring, quite funny for one act, and Barbara Harris gives a good-bad performance with much idiot-appeal, as the old smarty from Aquitaine. (*At the Ambassador*) WILFRID SHEED

GET THEM TO A NUNNERY

THE SCREEN

Several weeks ago "Open End" staged two programs in which David Susskind interviewed four nuns. The shows were as brilliant, heart-warming, and reassuring as anything I've seen on TV—not only because the sisters, members of four different teaching orders, ran circles around Susskind (perhaps an easy thing to do, although I've always suspected that his naïve questions were a come-on to get guests to talk) but also because these ladies were so attractive, articulate, and bright in discussing the role of today's nuns. While they admitted they may be "radical" in the best sense of the word, they also insisted that what they were saying was typical of many nuns.

What was especially interesting was the comments of the nuns on poverty, obedience, the religious life

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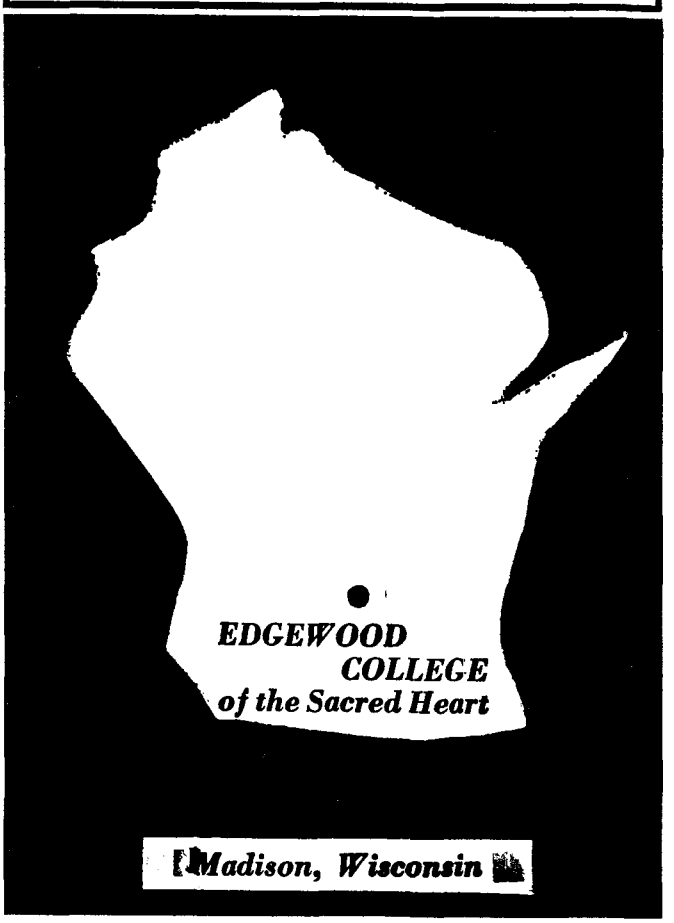

("one way to holiness . . . but not the only way"), their changing garb, the great importance of their being outward-going, and a variety of other topics including the mundane-like movies (they didn't object to "The Nun's Story" but thought it should have been called "A" not "The." And one sister had a yen for "The Knack," which was my favorite comedy of last year). And during these two programs, I kept thinking of movies, wishing that they could capture the honesty and intelligence of these nuns and tell their story, instead of the usual guff that appears in films about the religious.

"The Singing Nun" is the usual guff—or perhaps a little worse. Although it carries the customary foreword: "The events, characters and firms depicted in this photoplay are fictitious. Any similarity to actual persons . . . is purely coincidental," the film has more than coincidental similarities to certain aspects of the story of Soeur Sourire.

Sister Sourire is the Belgian Dominican nun whose records of her sweet singing her own lovely songs won her fame, a lot of money for her convent, and an appearance on the Ed Sullivan show. Once producer John Beck decided to make this movie, he must have realized he was stuck with problems connected with plot, treatment, and the Church itself. But he, and director Henry Koster, and scriptwriters Sally Benson (of all people) and John Furia, Jr., needn't have come up with so many tired clichés.

"The Singing Nun" starts with Sister Ann (not "Sourire," although Debbie Reynolds in this role smiles a lot) on a motor scooter racing to a new hospice in the slums of Ghent while the man-on-the-street regards her with a what's-the-world-coming-to attitude: "Are nuns human beings?" As portrayed in this movie, they are not. Sister Ann is completely unfitted for her work among the poor. But when the priest-advisor (Ricardo Montalban) discovers how nicely she sings and strums her guitar, he suggests a recording; and when the recording company's executive (handsome Chad Everett), who turns out to be Ann's former boyfriend, discovers what a hit her recording of "Dominique" is, he suggests an album. And then there seems to be no end to Ann's rise to fame.

All of which is very well. But in the meantime, there has to be some kind of a plot, so Ann becomes interested in a darling little boy whose hard-drinking father and naughty sister shock the nun. Debbie Reynolds plays the role with her usual vitality and enthusiasm; and she sings Soeur Sourire's songs well. In the large supporting cast are Agnes Moorehead as the cross nun with a heart of gold; and Greer Garson as the Mother

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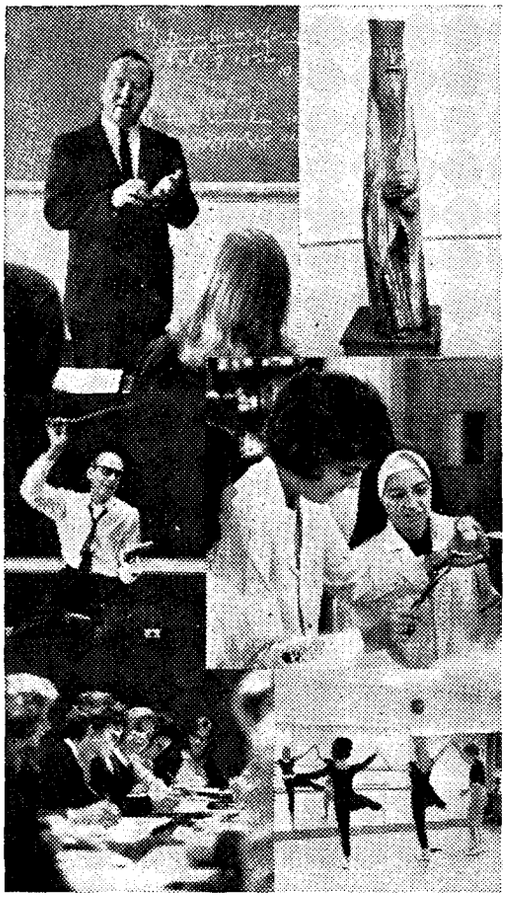

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Prioress who also has a heart of gold and a gentility left over from Mrs. Miniver; and several other movie-type nuns on whom the make-up man used lipstick with restraint, but couldn't resist touching up the eye areas. Just to set your mind at ease, I must add that at the end, Sister Ann turns to religion again and winds up as a nursing nun in Africa, where she is delighted with the singing natives—which may lead to a sequel, heaven forbid!

I suppose "Going My Way" is usually blamed for the tender comedies we've had about the religious in the past twenty years, but actually this blame isn't quite cricket. I saw that film again recently; and its story, though sentimental, and fine performances by Bing Crosby and Barry Fitzgerald add up to a better movie than its many, many imitators. Perhaps "Going" started the style, but it's never been surpassed. The Italians are in on the act now too; and their "The Little Nuns" is more of same.

That is true even though the Italian movie aims at a sophisticated note by getting two nuns involved with an airlines executive and his mistress. It all starts in a small Italian town where a convent is disturbed by the noise of the jets that fly over it. Young Sister Celeste (Catherine Spaak) and an older nun go to Rome to persuade the airline to change its route—and what happens to the girls in the big city shouldn't happen to nuns. No doubt it's all innocent enough, but the standard are-nuns-human attitude becomes a bore in spite of the mildly amusing adventures.

The best of the recent nun pictures is "The Trouble With Angels"—perhaps because it isn't really about nuns, but about a couple of students who are holy terrors at St. Francis Academy. At first I found the movie rather tiresome and repetitive as these two girls get into so much mischief and behave like demons. But then as the film went on and slipped through the four-year course, it, like the girls, began to grow up and become thoroughly charming. Much of the credit for the pleasing qualities of this good film should go to Rosalind Russell for her excellent performance as the Mother Superior who is no stereotype; to Hayley Mills and June Harding who are a delight as the two cut-ups; and to Ida Lupino who directed the whole business.

Perhaps the film suffers a bit by comparison with "The World of Henry Orient," but "The Trouble With Angels" can stand on its own feet, or wings. Maybe what nun pictures need is a woman director. Miss Lupino has the right touch. PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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BOOKS

Genêt's "Letters from Paris"—1944 to 1965

Paris Journal

JANET FLANNER

Atheneum, $8.95

ALICE MAYHEW

Janet Flanner has been an American in Paris now for a couple of generations, under the 3rd, 4th and 5th Republics, and has been writing home faithfully, over the name Genêt, to family and friends in America—the somewhat sophisticated, partially shrewd evanescent readership of the *New Yorker*. Throughout all these years, she has maintained her wit, intelligence and energy, and cast her artist's eye on everything about her. *Paris Journal* is a selection of her pieces, edited by the editor of the *New Yorker*, William Shawn, from the liberation of Paris in 1944, to 1965—years that marked the transition from sorrow, defeat and disillusion to the resurgence of a new, firm, republican France, vigorous, ambitious, and open once more to the complicated genius of its people.

In spite of having soaked in French air and light for all these years, Miss Flanner is still indubitably American—American enough to tell her reader by the home fire what he wants to know, assuming he's read the papers and is thereby familiar with the outline of French experience. These letters are written with the expectation (and understanding, for it is largely true) that the recipient would most naturally inquire about these *particular* details. Citizen Genêt is American, too, in her idealism, which wearies but never dissipates; in her irony which rarely wounds itself on programmatic cynicism; and in a, though disciplined and restrained, sentimentalism that is tempered but not wholly damped by a Continental sense of the ambiguous, the practical, and the existential.

Miss Flanner writes beautifully—there is no other word for it—and this collection is so nearly marvelous that one wishes it were straight narrative, instead of an eclectic series of accounts. Home leaves, trips, vacations, editor's choices, and other accidents have elided certain seminal occurrences (i.e., the fall of Dienbienphu, except in retrospect); nevertheless, the vivid scenes and pertinent details that are here are usually illuminating, always competent. In spite of the way the material is organized, and with its necessary lapses, it is remarkable that the conglomerate is more than the sum of the parts. It is a real achievement, for even with its faults, the collection does in some important way truly render France—a triumph of talent over form.

One can read these journals for whatever especially interests; there is something for almost everyone. In an early section, for example, the subjects range from *Le Monde* on Coca-Cola and its way of life, the gambling casinos of Saigon, the disarrayed French Assembly (this is 1948), tragic, hobbling parades of war *mutilés* down the rue Monmartre, the heartbreaking return of a group of French woman prisoners from Ravensbruck, fireworks on the Grande Nuit de Paris, Monte Carlo, the Indo-Chinese War, the weather, the slow melting of the chilly post-war Parisian town and spirit, Korea, the Comédie-Française, the Ruhr, truffles and termites in five *quartiers*, the death of Gide (the book is sprinkled with obituaries which give the author a chance to write about the famous; the most outstanding are of Leon Blum, and the funeral of Colette), current Parisian writers and flowers, and as always in these post-war years, the state of the *franc* and the fall of another government.

Genêt is good on most things, but most brilliant on politics, political personalities, and moments of high civil drama. Perhaps this is because the most significant French adventure of the last twenty years has been the search for her political soul. During these decades, the things that touched France, *au fond*, were acts both of political desperation and extraordinary heroism: during this time, the French turned some psychological corner and circuitously rediscovered themselves. The last elections, late in 1965, were cause for joy; they demonstrated that France was freed of neurotic fears. Most of the events during the period this book spans were, on the contrary, at their best, simply cause for relief, and at their worst, examples of despair.

Two events rest at the center of France's tumultuous history during these two decades: they are both interior and external to her, both provoked by her and visited upon her, both an ordeal and also a failure of will—and they are directly interrelated, the opposite sides of the coin. One is the spiritual, physical and psychic devastation, which no American can fully understand, that was not only wrought by Germany and the Second World War, but by Vichy's treason, and the population's fearfulness, self-disgust, and the melancholy that followed. The other, which stemmed from this, was the two (inseparable) false crusades in Indo-China and Algeria into which France's isolated, pessimistic, proud and cruel army and its allies drew her headlong.

These events were circumscribed, and are described magnificently by Miss Flanner in the two criminal trials of Marshal Pétain and General Salan that took place in the same courtroom some years apart: the first for Vichy's betrayal and his collaboration with the Nazis; the second for armed insurrection, terrorism, and inciting citizens to take up arms against each other in Algeria and in France. Pétain, about whom, as Blum thoughtfully remarked, there had been since Verdun a "mystery," was at war with the *corrupted Republic;* this was equally, and as tragically, true of Salan (and his colonels and paras), the

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lifelong soldier, the very man who had brought back de Gaulle, who had (as de Gaulle noted) "allowed" de Gaulle to save the Republic. Salan, it turns out, thought de Gaulle would save Algeria (for the French? the peace of mind of its discouraged Army? the oil in the Sahara? for the paras, of whom a large proportion were ex-German soldiers? for some sort of private madness?). De Gaulle, of course, and much to his credit, chose to save France's honor, and the Republic—by replacing it with another one; by ending the war, by restoring an autocratic kind of sanity, and by prosecuting criminals like Salan who had put their morbidly romantic, delirious imaginations and secular patriotism before their country.

The Algerian War, which was a near disaster for France, dominates 300 of the 600 pages of the book, if not in actual space, in underlying concern: this is the "dirty war" that Genêt described in 1956: "a cruel, fanatical *démodé* Arab holy war, an intimate hand-to-hand war of native knives and barbaric tortures, in which French helicopters supply the outstanding modern touch, a war of *petits paquets*, with the communiqués mentioning such small parcels of men as to sound ludicrous—except that they are descriptive of the endless, frittering kind of hide-and-seek, hill and desert war it really is." If one takes out the words Arab and desert, the adjective French before helicopters, this would sound sickeningly like a description of Vietnam, 1966.

There were also two outstanding political leaders, both not only men of political genius, but archtypical of two great and differing strains in the French temperament—de Gaulle, and Pierre Mendès-France. De Gaulle dominates, naturally, since he succeeded ultimately. De Gaulle, the Christian prince, the mystic, the most unrepublican great Republican; it is he who speaks (in an "august voice, with its sometimes uncontrollable comic falsetto and its solemn nasal trumpeting of sacred syllables like *'La Fraaaance'*") the word, history, with a capital H, who is equipped with an *intermittent* sense of destiny, and was "always a patriot, and now a liberal."

Like many, Miss Flanner is ambivilant toward him: he is now heroic, now Machiavellian—and in the end indispensable. Mendès, on the other hand—intellectual, brilliant, pragmatic, sad, profoundly liberal, coming as a miracle close to saving the unsalvable 4th Republic before he fell at the hands of the bourgeois politicians and the anti-Semites—is for Miss Flanner (as he has always been for me) a particularly painful victim of the jealous, the selfish and the impatient.

And there was Paul Reynaud, and there is André Malraux—both sketched, *in situ* with Genêt's brilliant pen. But there is too much in this enormously worthwhile book to summarize; it is written with passion. Janet Flanner has the grace to have feelings, and not to hide them.

Buckdancer's Choice

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Selected Poems

LOUIS SIMPSON

Harcourt, Brace, $4.95

CHARLES MONAGHAN

Buckdancer's Choice is the finest volume of poetry to appear in the sixties, the best since Robert Lowell's *Life Studies* in 1959. And it means there are now two kings of the mountain: James Dickey has joined Lowell atop the poetic heap.

Lowell, now 48 years old, has been ranked as a major poet since the publication of *Lord Weary's Castle* in 1946. He is also poetry's leading public figure—the one whose volumes receive homage on the first page of *The New York Times Book Review*, the one who rejects invitations to the White House and scolds the President.

Dickey is almost as old, 42, but he is little known outside the cozy world of poets. Perhaps this is because he arrived late on the scene; his first volume was not published until 1960.

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Since then, he has produced three marvelous books of poems—*Drowning With Others* (1962), *Helmets* (1964) and now *Buckdancer's Choice*. In addition, Dickey is the most stinging critic of poetry around, and numerous literary lights have suffered under his lash. No doubt many of them will be loath to acknowledge the flowering of his genius.

The poetic brilliance of Robert Lowell lies in the ability to imbue his intimate experience with enormous lyricism, expressed in a language daring in its very commonness. Dickey's genius is much different: his poems don't fly, they burn. He uses clear, glistening images to draw you slowly, pleasantly into his world, as the Venus fly-trap draws the fly. Then suddenly, magically, you are his thrilled victim, and the images are searing you. You are living the poet's agony with him.

But this ability to involve the reader deeply is only part of Dickey's genius. His main accomplishment is a tenacious refusal to oversimplify. Literature is always a compromise between the unseemly sprawl of material available and the dictates of communication. Dickey has continually fought to increase the emotional complexity of his poems, without affecting their clarity.

For instance, I give you, from *Buckdancer's Choice*, "The Firebombing," which tells of the napalm bombing of a Japanese town by the poet, a pilot. There are lovely physical images, the moon glinting on the wing and the propeller, the feel of flight, description of the sea and countryside below. The pilot knows there is little tactical reason for the mission. He tries to understand and describe what horrors are wreaked on innocent people by his bombs. These elements alone, treated as powerfully as Dickey treats them, would make a major poem. But Dickey doesn't stop there.

The poet-pilot is speaking 20 years later, a fat man on a diet, tempted by the colorful food in his kitchen, a man who intensely knows the joys of home and children. It is he who remembers the firebombing. Thus an entire new level is added. The bombing is seen in its deepest meaning, a sin against the

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weak, against neighbor, against one's own family. The violent anti-war feeling of the opening section is not mitigated but enlarged. The poem becomes no pacifist tract but a profound and sensitive exploration of evil.

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I have no intention of using Dickey as a stick with which to beat Louis Simpson, who is a fine poet in his own right, but enthusiasm and language must be tempered, for Simpson at the moment is of a lesser rank.

These *Selected Poems* seem the completion of a painstaking apprenticeship. They start with the haunting, tightly rhymed poems of his first book, *The Arrivistes* (1949). Step by step the form loosens, without ever becoming slack, and the poet speaks in an easier voice. By the end of his last book, *At the End of the Open Road* (1963), he is obviously convinced he has learned all the lessons to be taught by adherence to close form.

In fact, the free-flowing poems at the end of this volume, such as "Walt Whitman at Bear Mountain" and "The Union Barge on Station Island," do constitute something of a new departure for Simpson. And it is a new departure well taken, for the majority of his earlier work does smell, ever so faintly, of academic mold. The poems are too certain they are well wrought, too certain they are intelligent, too certain they are full of feeling. In short, too damn cocksure.

Yes, poetic taste is changing and the meditative walk in the formal garden (a barbarity of which Mr. Simpson was never guilty), now seems impossible to stomach. We relish again a sweet disarray in meter, and even an occasional scream of anguish. Dickey and Lowell and Gary Snyder are "in," and Simpson seems headed the same way.

Yet one hopes Simpson really does not go too far in the direction of the new romanticism. It would be a shame if he crippled his sensitive historical imagination, more wide-ranging than either Dickey's or Lowell's. At its worst it uses classical myths for subject matter, but at its best, it makes observation and feeling glow with wisdom, as in the two poems mentioned above, and in "To the Western World," which ends with these lines: "In America, this wilderness/ Where the axe echoes with a lonely sound,/ The generations labor to possess/ And grave by grave we civilize the ground." In a decade or two, when imitators of Dickey and Lowell have had their sentimental spree, perhaps there will be a synthesis. Then the field will belong to people who can write poetry like that.

Christian Metaphysics

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EUGENE FONTINELL

Walter Ong, in his preface to *Christian Metaphysics*, states: "It is strange that we have had no book quite like this before." I believe that it is even more strange that we *now* have a book like this. It would have been quite understandable if this work had appeared fifty years ago, but to have it emerge in the so-called ecumenical age is an anomaly, to say the least. Trestmontant writes as if nothing significant has happened since Vatican I. Indeed, with the exception of a few incidental references to Blondel, Bergson and Teilhard, there is hardly a mention of anything beyond the 19th century. (Of some sixty references, forty-five are to Denzinger, the latest being 1810.)

Trestmontant's thesis is that "From the Jahwist document, drawn up in writing about the ninth century before our era, up to the canons of the Vatican Council in 1870, an original, metaphysical tradition unfolds, defines itself, and formulates itself." The method employed to substantiate this thesis is to analyze the relevant documents, for the most part "solemn definitions of Ecu-

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menical Councils," and abstract those doctrines which constitute "Christian metaphysics."

Trestmontant states that this work "is not addressed to the learned" and he is surely correct for there is little here that would not be familiar to anyone who had progressed through the high school level of religious instruction. We "learn" that God is a creator who created the world in time, that man has a soul created by God but not part of His essence, that this soul is immortal, that original sin has weakened but "has not altered human nature fundamentally," that "man is responsible for the evil that he commits," and that man is able by natural reason to know God. Had Trestmontant confined himself to brief descriptions of these doctrines there would be little to criticize. However, he does much more than describe; he makes a number of claims which raise all sorts of difficulties.

To begin with, Trestmontant claims originality for the metaphysics which he advances. In order to substantiate this claim he takes an approach which has been under criticism for some years now by what I like to think of as the more reflective Catholic thinkers. His approach is to reduce both Catholic doctrine and the positions of other religions and philosophies to abstractions which are labelled, pigeon-holed and compared—always, of course, to the disadvantage of the non-Catholic views. Trestmontant drops out the subtleties, complexities, terminological shadings, the historical and cultural conditions and the experiential dimensions of these positions—the very aspects of them which seem to many to be their distinctive features.

Then there is the propriety of entitling this work *Christian Metaphysics* when by Trestmontant's own admission it is "the metaphysics of the Catholic 'stem' of Christian thought." Further, while admitting that "the theologies of the Reformation do not have the same metaphysical principles as Catholic theology," he contends that "If metaphysical propositions are contained in these solemn definitions [of the Councils], *it will not be possible to dispute*

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that it is indeed the metaphysics of Christianity, formulated by the *whole Church*, which here finds its expression" (Italics mine). Finally, the language and arguments employed by Trestmontant in discussing the conflicting theologies is vintage counter-reformation.

One of the most serious implications of Trestmontant's position is that, if it were accepted, it would deliver a death-blow to any Catholic philosopher who is trying to be faithful to the demands of modern and contemporary philosophy. According to Trestmontant "there is *one* Christian philosophy and one only," and since the main lines of this philosophy are revealed in the "solemn definitions" of the Councils, they are beyond dispute. Not that everything has been settled, for he concedes that "Christian philosophy remains undetermined in part," and is "unfinished and in genesis." He adds: "The freedom of the Christian philosopher lies in this genesis in which he must co-operate, not in the structure of the knowledge already attained, which indeed imposes on him certain well-defined functional exigencies."

On Trestmontant's assumption every Christian philosopher would have first to steep himself in this Christian metaphysics and subsequently to judge all other philosophies in terms of their conformity to, or consistency with, it. This means that the Christian philosopher would have to surrender the chief methodological principle of modern science and philosophy, namely, the readiness at all times to submit even one's most basic and cherished principles to critical review in the light of developing thought and experience. Thus the Christian philosopher would be fundamentally in bad faith, for while pretending to be philosophizing and following reason, he would have some privileged principles permanently protected from the scrutiny of reason and experience. I believe that it is extraordinarily naive for Trestmontant to add that "the exercise of philosophy is a purely rational exercise which must in no way depend on any supernatural revelation." When reason or philosophy are employed primarily to "prove" what one already believes one can be assured that no faith will ever lack "reasons."

The most disturbing aspect of this work, however, is the exaggerated intellectualism which permeates Trestmontant's view of Christianity. Two texts suffice to indicate the extremity of his position: "It is the reason . . . which calls to revelation and it is to the reason that revelation addresses itself. It is to the reason that God speaks, . . ."; "Christianity is thus not only a theology but also a metaphysic." It does not seem particularly daring nor radical to suggest that it is to the fullness of the human person "that God speaks" and that Christianity is neither a theology nor a metaphysics but a life which employs a theology and a metaphysics—perhaps many theologies and metaphysics.

Selected Letters of Malcolm Lowry

EDIT. HARVEY BREIT AND MARGERIE BONNER LOWRY

Lippincott, $10

GEORGE GREENE

One's first impulse is to link Malcolm Lowry, son of a wealthy north-of-England industrial family who spent his most creative years in Mexico, with others who became lost in that perilous Eden (Ambrose Bierce), or who left it to consummate disaster elsewhere (Hart Crane). The headlong judgments of a hot climate fill this rich collection, which contains two-thirds of the available material, painstakingly edited by the author's widow and Mr. Breit.

There is good reason for the debate surrounding Malcolm Lowry, who died in 1957 of what a Sussex coroner's report masked as a "misadventure." He has the risky distinction of appealing to a number of mutually suspicious audiences. Some admirers scent a mystic, while others hail a craftsman who fearlessly appropriated the bravest innovations of modern prose. This volume clears up a number of puzzles, but

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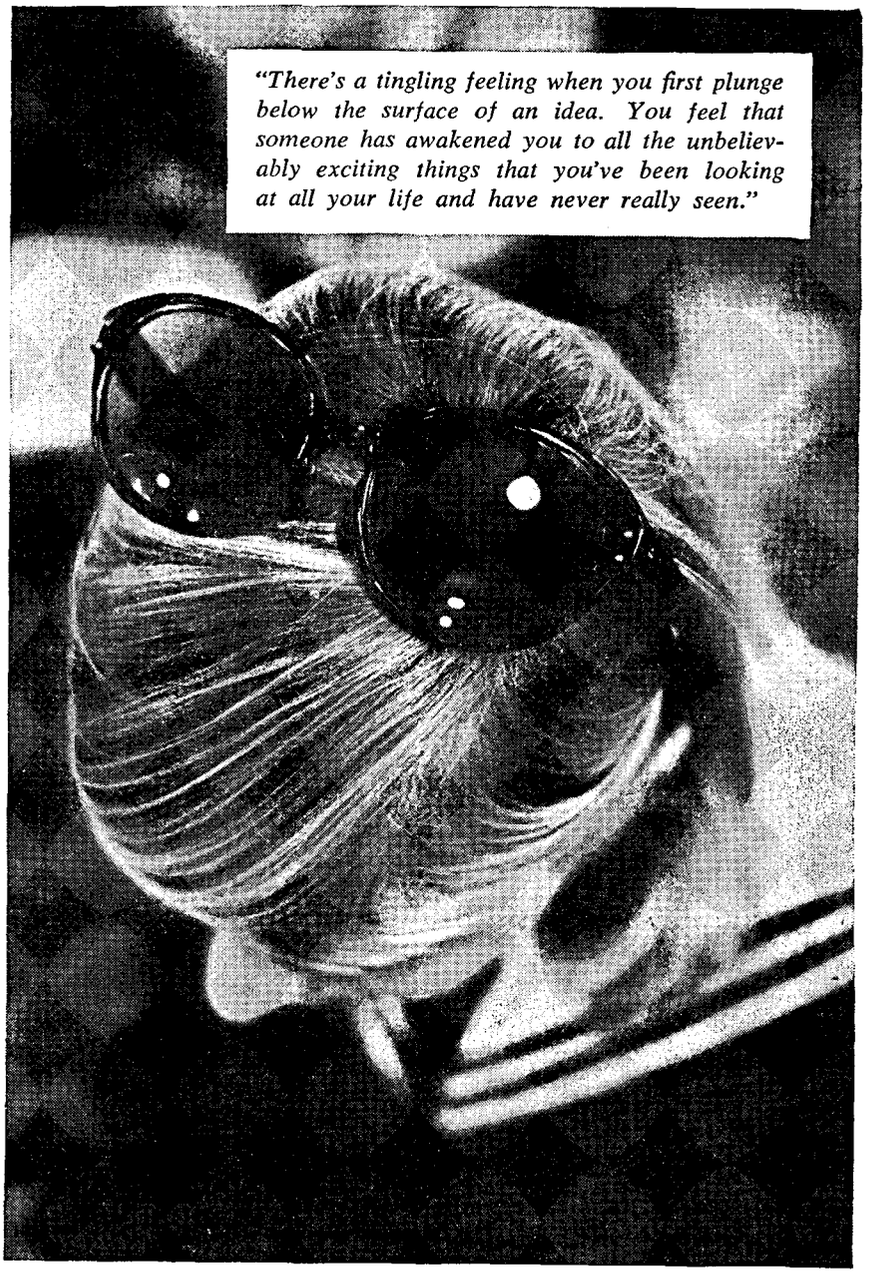
what it chiefly proves is that Mr. Lowry was a throwback, rebellious, spiritually untutored, a fact which accounts for both his poignant faith in more established names—his style seeks a kind of cultural evangelicalism—as well as his authentic fervor. ". . . I shall die of grief," he prophesied in 1938, "sitting bolt upright in a Pullman car, in Utah, without a country."

Lowry was one of hundreds of youths of the 1920s who were encouraged to escape to sea after having been exposed to Eugene O'Neill. The first book he ever read was Frank Norris' *McTeague*, and a hasty reader might view his career as one prolonged campaign to refine his tastes. Lowry worked hard at self-improvement, but for reasons which go beyond artistic ambition. These letters verify a problem one saw in *Under the Volcano*, the defense of which takes up so much of his time. In an epistle of thirty-one pages to a publisher, he goes into detail, appealing to an awesome jury—Baudelaire, Dostoevsky, Flaubert, Poe—in search of support. Lowry argues for the relevance of every passage in his densely textured, difficult story of a drunken British ex-consular official in the Mexico of the 1930s, including "the horses, the dogs, the river, and the small talk about the local movie." It is a judgment one cannot second. Sometimes his tone verges on desperation—he wants to keep even sections which he concedes to be "good lunacy." In his tactics there is something of the frightened ardor as well as the bravura of the failed poet. "It is superficial," Lowry taunts us, "profound, entertaining and boring, according to taste."

One is not put off by such recklessness, for it uncovers something more permanently important. When we persist we discover Lowry also believed that "the agonies of the drunkard find their most accurate poetic analogue in the agonies of the mystic who has abused his powers." One overlooks the faith in improvisation as he insists that his book must create its own laws as it goes along. For Malcolm Lowry is more persuasive as a witness to a psychological problem than as a techni-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cian. The central motto for *Under the Volcano* quotes the autobiography of John Bunyan, and the words shed light on the harassed power as well as the wild ambition of Lowry's program.

It becomes clear that with time O'Neill faced rivals as Lowry's mentor. The lad educated in a religious prep school never forgot certain inexpungable sermons. At moments he recognizes in himself "a conservative Christian anarchist. . . ." Sophisticated analogues make it easier to reject a milieu where his father offered no more than drearily pragmatic counsel on how to get on. Yet Lowry never quite left behind the remnants, disheveled but recognizable, of a Dissenter's faith. He attacks what he judges to be Conrad's ignorance of the cleansing impact of ritual among tribes of the African interior. Life poses the problem "of stripping away inessentials from the central core of one's being which is, in fact, one's vocation itself." One has stumbled upon a traveler far closer to Christian than to "K" or Ishmael. "If I were able," Lowry writes as early as 1936, "I would turn my back on myself." For years he tried to persuade his mother he was working on a book which was in essence religious, and he was more accurate than he consciously realized. *Under the Volcano* deserves its title. In his own maladroit way the Consul protests against the inhumanity of a decade, the distant thunder of impending war shaking whisky bottles as the wanderers lurch from one cantina to another. Lowry is particularly good at conveying the non sequiturs of a society as querulous as it is infertile. "What goes up must come down," he admits by 1951, "not to say what happens when you throw nature out with a pitchfork." But boyhood paths have grown into a tropical swamp, so one transfers allegiance from doctrine to metaphor. "There is no straight way," Lowry cries out. "There is no path, unless metamorphosed." Hence the ever-mounting sums he gambles on art. *Under the Volcano* becomes more alive than the human beings around him. "If I deny myself," he tells a young admirer, "I deny my book, and in denying my book, I deny you."

One has a sense of more and more doors closing. At lengths he wants to amend the limits of logic. "I think unquestionably what one is after is a new form," he feels by 1953, "a new approach to reality itself. . . ." He fought bravely to modernize his sensibility, yet his inspiration goes back at least as far as the seventeenth century, to another indefatigable teacher who could more comfortably proclaim the direction of his fable. As late as 1950 Lowry found in his work proof

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

REVIEWERS

ALICE MAYHEW *is on the staff of a major New York publishing house.*

CHARLES MONAGHAN, *on the staff of the New York* Times, *is himself a poet.*

EUGENE FONTINELL *is an Associate Professor of Philosophy at Queens College and an editor of* Cross Currents.

GEORGE GREENE, *who has appeared in* Atlantic Monthly *and* The Critic, *teaches English at Bridgewater State College, Massachusetts.*

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that "any revolution that did not appeal to the whole man, including the spiritual, would eventually abort. . . ."

Foreboding grows. He consults language teachers in order to incorporate Greek words, hallowed, possibly magical, into a new work in progress. Meanwhile he struggles to make ends meet in Canada, where earlier he had undergone crises "which make Gorki's *Lower Depths* look like a drawing-room comedy." He was not exaggerating, as sickness and a succession of appalling accidents attest. Finally he returned to England and the fumbling charity of the inquest's verdict. "Why are there not stained glass windows in memory of all the authors," he once asked doggedly, kindly, "and all the publishers too?" No one can doubt that, on the subject of the prohibitive cost of forging twentieth century fables, Malcolm Lowry's authority was unrivaled and his testimony unassailable.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 93*)

chartered, and not for the profit or advantage of themselves or any group of men. That the trustees may be chosen by or from a religious order does not seem to me to give the members of that order—who, after all, often have vows of poverty—the same claim to "ownership" that the stockholders of the Ford Motor Company have. An "owned" college is considered a proprietary one, which in most states can expect a visit from the tax collector.

What is most unhappy is that the concept of "ownership" which Father Leary asserts is exactly the frame of mind that can seriously hinder the attainment of the ideal of the Christian scholarly community that our colleges often profess to be. How complete can this spirit of community be if, say, 57 members of it regard themselves as "owners," and let their 111 equally well-qualified colleagues know that they are only "workers"?

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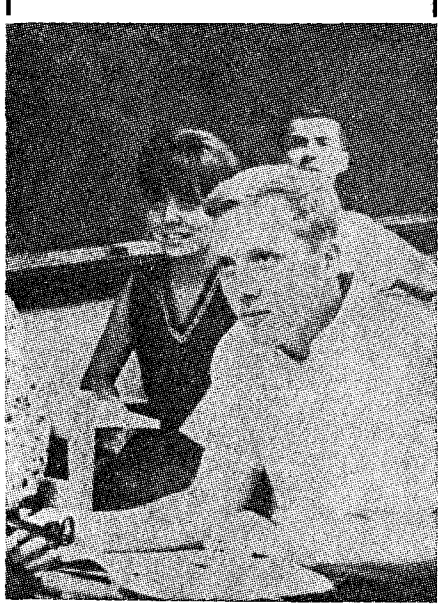

Father Leary enters into the discussion of the faculty role in policy-making (which is a different matter from day-to-day decision-making) with an appeal to the necessity for some final authority. Nobody is likely to dispute this, but it is not really what the discussion is all about. Father Leary seems to assume that such authority must of necessity be centralized in one person or in a very few, and that there can be no check upon such authority by the rest of the community. Yet all of us in America are used to political systems in which this is not the case; final decisions are definitely made, but no individual or interest has the power to exercise authority absolutely. And such conditions are widespread in many academic institutions. If we are used to such concepts in political units numbering millions, is it so difficult to accept them in an academic community numbering dozens or hundreds?

In many of our Catholic institutions faculty bodies and committees are carefully labeled "advisory," as a blunt reminder that the authority lies rather heavily concentrated somewhere else. The problem, then, is not simply a question of solving everything by a vote, but one of applying rather ordinary principles of "checks and balances," as we know them in political life, to the processes of policy-making. A well-conceived, undogmatic application of such principles would help to protect Catholic higher education from the damage that can be brought about by the overdomineering college president, the capricious administrator or the self-seeking faculty member—all elements which are not unknown in the Catholic colleges.

JAMES M. BERGQUIST

Artificial Contraception

Kansas City, Kansas

To the Editors: In the February 18 issue of COMMONWEAL, there appeared objections to Gregory Baum's stand on artificial contraception and a reply by Father Baum. I do not think Father Baum answered them adequately, though this may have been because the objectors failed to establish the crux of the problem clearly enough.

The issue that must be settled is not the distinction between divine revelation and "the authoritative, not infallible teaching of the magisterium," but rather whether or not artificial contraception can ever be shown to be either moral or immoral through divine revelation. Father Baum stated that "the official position on birth control has never been proposed as a doctrine of revelation, but, as contained in the natural law, accessible to reason, and hence binding on Christians and non-Christians alike."

Even though the teaching on birth control stems from the natural law, does this mean that God can never reveal it so that all may know it as true and certain? Father Baum would answer no because it is not explicitly or implicitly contained in Sacred Scripture, which is the source of all dogmatic developments and all tradition. But the question must be put: how does he know for certain that this is so? Was not the scriptural foundation for the teaching on the Assumption quite disputed before Pope Pius declared it to be infallibly true?

The issue at hand is this, as Rev. Zabala rightly stated, "Does the Pope have no right to decide whether this matter is indeed contained in divine revelation?" Father Baum has said no, but, as it stands now, he has presented no convincing proofs or arguments to defend himself. He may be able to answer this question or direct others to sources that will elucidate his stand; if he is able, I would sincerely like him to do so.

(REV.) RAYMOND TOWNLEY, O.R.S.A.

Reply

Toronto, Ont.

To the Editors: There are undoubtedly many natural truths explicitly or implicitly revealed in the Word of God, written or traditioned in the Church. We can also imagine a natural truth which, while not revealed, is nonetheless absolutely necessary to defend revealed truth. Denying this natural truth would necessarily imply a rejection of, or infidelity to, God's revealed Word.

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In these two cases, the ecclesiastical magisterium would be able to teach a natural truth with an authority that could become, under certain circumstances, definitive. While in the first case mentioned above the proposition would belong to the *credenda*, and the second to the *tenenda*, they would nevertheless be, in virtue of the magisterial teaching, tests of fidelity to the Word of God. We speak here of infallibility.

Does the present position on birth control belong to this category of truth? The principal arguments given in defense of it derives from an analysis of "the natural law." In ecclesiastical documents, this law is often identified with the divine law. Sometimes it is suggested that the use of contraception goes against the holiness of marriage as revealed to us in the Word of God. Is it possible that the present position on birth control, a natural truth, is so closely related to revealed truth (*connexa cum revelatis*) that to deny it would necessarily imply infidelity to God's Word? If this were so, the ecclesiastical magisterium could speak on it with infallibility.

It has never been seriously proposed that the present position on birth control is related to revelation in this way. It has been declared as a natural truth and in this sense as part of divine law. We have a formal statement on this in the Constitution on the Church in the Modern World. We read that sexual life in marriage must be determined "by objective standards." This is then explained: "These, based on the nature of the human person and his acts, preserve the full sense of mutual self-giving and human procreation in the context of true love." We are here in the realm of natural wisdom. In ecclesiastical documents, this natural law is often called divine law. This is also done in the Constitution. "In its unfolding of the divine law" the Church has the authority to reprove certain methods of family limitation. From the context it is quite clear that this is done on the natural principles mentioned above and not on some connection with the revealed Word of God.

Is it possible that the Pope, in the exercise of his universal magisterium, is now able to discover a necessary connection between the present position of the Church on birth control and divine revelation? Since pope and bishops in their quest for truth "have the same sources available as has the Church" (Gasser, Vatican I) and must carry on the investigations *"per media apta"* (Vatican II), that is through exegetical, theological and historical studies, it seems impossible to me that the ecclesiastical magisterium will sud-

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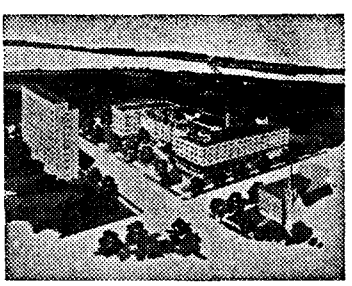

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denly discover such a connection, of which the Church was not aware in the past, and this at the very time when the Catholic understanding of marriage, conjugal love, sex, and the role of women has undergone a considerable evolution at the Council. I do not think that one honors the Petrine office in the Church by imagining it to be some sort of oracle. (REV.) GREGORY BAUM, O.S.A.

"Humphrey in 1972"

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: In my article, "Humphrey and 1972" (March 4), I unintentionally left the impression that Vice President Humphrey has a private view on Vietnam which differs from that of the Administration and which he is keeping silent about out of a sense of discretion. In fact, I have no information and no reason to believe that such is the case. My chief purpose in the article was to argue that even if he had such a view, it would be highly irresponsible of him to undercut the President publicly. WILLIAM V. SHANNON

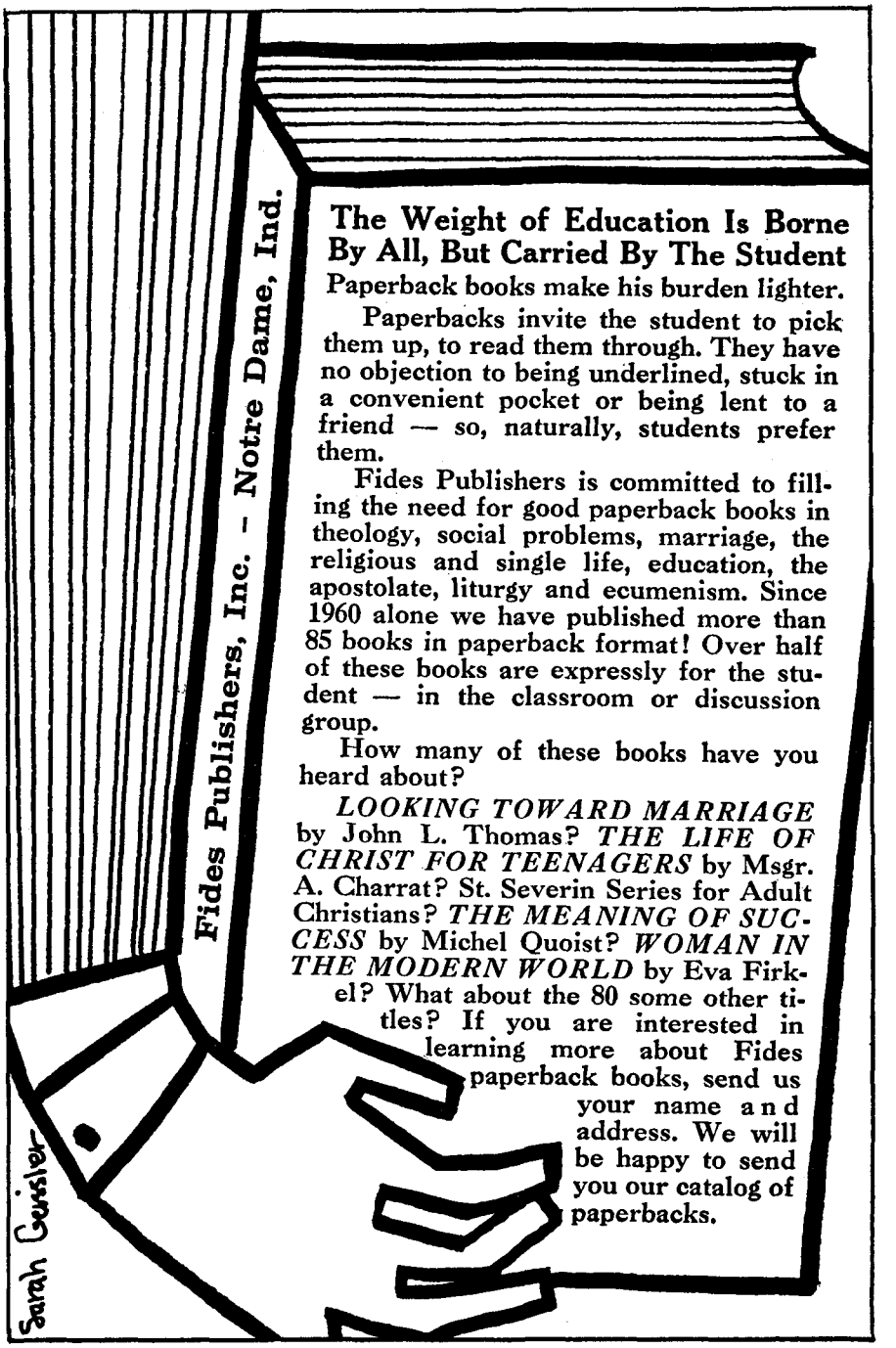
"Nuclear War"

Chicago, Ill.

To the Editors: I had hoped to remain free of the onus of replying to Peter Steinfels' review of my *Nuclear War*, but his recent treatment of it and of some of its admirers (February 26) prompts me, first to write in defense of the book's defenders and, second, to answer what he now calls his "specific charges—inconsistencies, self-contradictions, unwarranted juxtapositions and shortcomings in tone and structure. . . ." I address myself to this first office in the present letter, and shall undertake the second in the next issue of *Continuum*.

Clearly there is but one way to refute out-of-context quotations, and that is to cite them in their original context—a project that requires much more space than even these hospitable correspondence columns offer. The *Continuum* piece shall concern itself only indirectly with subjective issues, such as "unwarranted juxtapositions" and "shortcomings in tone," because nothing is conclusively provable in this area: my Meinung is mine, his is his: and the interested reader must base his own judgment concerning such differences on his own larger understanding of each author's general intellectual orientation. But self-contradictions and inconsistencies *are* logically demonstrable and are logically grievous offenses, and grievously would Mr. Steinfels have me answer for them.

That there are no self-contradictions or inconsistencies in what Mr. Steinfels adduces I shall show, and so irrefragably show, that I am willing to let anybody of his choice—say, his COMMONWEAL associate editors—adjudicate this disagreement and demand a formal retraction from whatever party is judged culpable. I believe in trial by intellect, not by innuendo; I believe in close textual analysis, not in arbitrary extrapolation; I believe—and I write this with deliberation—that Mr. Steinfels suffers either from some gravely hampering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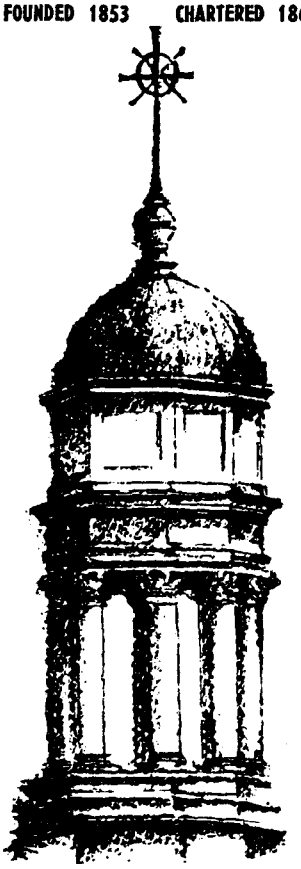

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critical affliction or from a compulsion to distort; in short, I believe that, interlaced with the breezy jollity his review affects, there is something manifestly illogical *or* pathological about it. I will prove this in any forum of Mr. Steinfels' choice, and shall make my beginning in *Continuum.*

Now, to the point of this letter. In his review—concerning certain allegations about Stuart Hughes' opinions—Mr. Steinfels observed: ". . . many of the writers Lawler cites favorably either admire or employ the approach of some of his 'crackpot realists.' Lawler terms Herman Kahn's *On Thermonuclear War* a *'summa demonica.'* But H. Stuart Hughes called it 'one of the great works of our time' and added that the 'strategists of deterrence offer one of the best reservoirs of brains in the country. Alongside their reasoning, the arguments of most "peace" people seem vacuous and sentimental. . .'" All this in proof that Stuart Hughes "admires or employs the approach" of Herman Kahn and similar theorists. The argument has all the logical rigor of, for example, proving "admiration or employment of the approach" of Marxism to be implied in calling *Das Kapital* "one of the great works of the nineteenth century." It has all the logical rigor of proving admiration, etc., for Nazism from a statement like, "Hitler's Germany offered one of the best reservoirs of brains in Western Europe." But Mr. Steinfels' loose logic is less condemnable than is his distortion of the context of Hughes' statement—both are the same failings, I will show, that characterize *passim* his treatment of *Nuclear War.* Readers concerned not now with logic, but with ethics, will have to read Hughes' entire article. If they do they will find in it phrases like: "troubling book," "unconvincing," "bleakness itself," "Kahn in particular seems to take a perverse delight in," "cracks in the distressing facade of deterrence apologetics," "too 'normal' to be credible," "such evidence can be read differently," "I find it impossible to imagine," etc. Such readers will then agree that Mr. Steinfels is going to be hard put to find one student of

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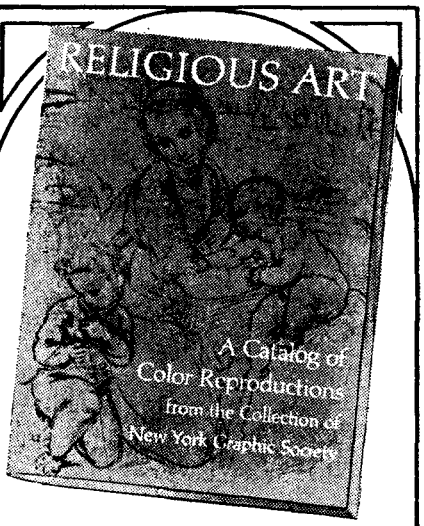

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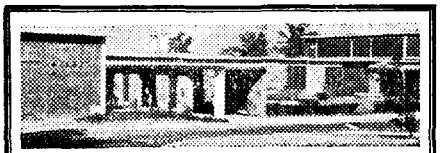

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nuclear policy, or even one random reader of Hughes' article (vintage 1960), who would confirm the judgment that its author "either admires or employs [present tense = 1966] the approach" of *On Thermonuclear War.*

In reply to Mr. Kaufman, Mr. Steinfels clarifies what he originally meant by his reference to Lawler's "disdain for dialogue"—a disdain for dialogue with one breed of nuclear deterrers which is so offensive to Mr. Steinfels that, in chastisement of such waywardness, he disdains to dialogue with their censurer. Mr. Steinfels says he did not mean that "Mr. Lawler should go in for more chit-chat with Pentagon officials" ("chit-chat" being a weasel coinage here for the otherwise universally mandatory "dialogue"); but if that is so, then there *are* limits to the obligation to dialogue. However, they are to be set by Mr. Steinfels only.

In reply to Miss Breen, Mr. Steinfels says, "I did not attack the book for being a polemic. The word I used was 'crabby,' which is not the same thing at all." Of course "to be crabby" is not the same thing as "to be polemic," any more than the part is the same thing as the whole, though the part is implicit in the whole just as "crabbiness" is implicit in "polemic." Whether in the present instance this writer's "crabbiness" with certain massive-deterrent strategists is justified shall be the burden of his *Continuum* piece. . .

The first point of Miss Bankert's letter I take to be that since Mr. Steinfels' review abounds in unproved and unprovable assertions—e.g., who determines the norms for grading the rhetorical propriety of "crabbiness"?—the reader is compelled, in assessing the controversy, to match Mr. Steinfels' credentials with those of Mr. Lawler, that is, to ponder the body of each antagonist's published statements on the nuclear question, and so to decide whose intuitings should be given the more weight. Her second point concerning Mr. Steinfels' remark, "It would be nice if Lawler met his opponents on their strong points," and her derision at the prospect of dialoguing with the general who would threaten to bomb

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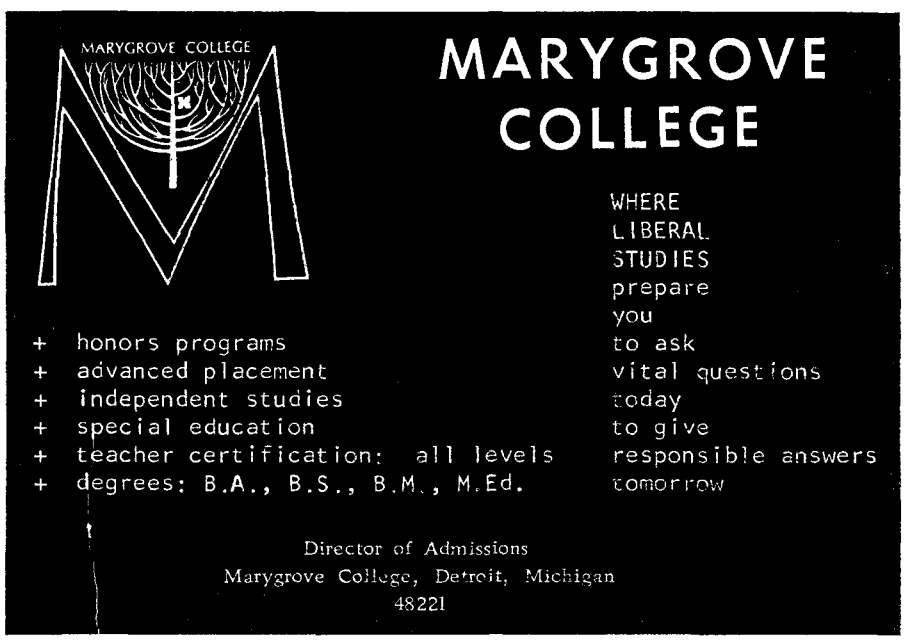
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"a whole nation 'back into the stone age' "—her second point is rebutted by Mr. Steinfels' "I find no mention in my review of friendly old souls from the Air Force." Precisely. But he will find a good deal of mention of bomber barons in *Nuclear War*, and if he thinks that what they stand for represent "phony and not the real issues," then one must take Mr. Steinfels at his word when he announces that he "deals with international affairs through the filter of words." Hopefully it may filter through to him that bombs not words are being dropped by SAC on Vietnam. *That* is not a phony issue.

Mr. Steinfels' last remark, to the effect that three of his correspondents worked on the book before its publication, possibly provides the key to his critical method. He assumes that they support the book's views because they worked on it, and not that they worked on it because they supported its views. Such an assumption amounts to a denial of intellectual integrity to his correspondents. "Dealing with international affairs" is, then, to be equated with "searching the reins and the heart." Political analysis becomes psychoanalysis, or some form of voodoo.

Mr. Steinfels concludes by noting that as no one has disputed "a single one of these specifics [previously enumerated], I do not see how I can modify my conclusions." I shall do what I can to show him how.

JUSTUS GEORGE LAWLER

Reply

Mr. Lawler's letter exhibits much the same tone as large portions of his book, so I suppose readers can now judge for themselves. He simply finds it difficult to disagree strongly with anyone without concluding that his adversary must be suffering from some psychological or moral defect.

Two points for the record:

1. Professor Hughes was cited in my review as one of *two* examples following a general statement about "many of the writers Lawler cites favorably." The word "employs" was never intended to relate to Hughes but to the second

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example. The word "admires" was intended in the sense of *appreciation* rather than *agreement*. All this is without doubt confusing, which I granted in my reply to Professor Hughes. In my reply, which Mr. Lawler ignores, I clarified what was meant: that Hughes found "Kahn's style of thought extremely powerful and worthy of serious consideration." Neither Mr. Lawler's analogies, nor his snippets from Hughes' article, nor the article in its entirety rebuts this formulation. It should be noted that in all this discussion of what Professor Hughes said or didn't say, no one has questioned the main point of that paragraph in my review: "that the question [of rhetorical styles in nuclear discourse] cuts across party lines."

2. I assume my correspondents' intellectual integrity to be of the highest sort, and hope they assume the same of mine. (I am sure that Mr. Lawler has nothing against my intellectual integrity; it is apparently only my mental health he doubts.) I mentioned my correspondents' connection with the book mainly to give a sense of proportion to this controversy. Readers, who note that books by Lionel Trilling, Alfred Kazin, Truman Capote, Father Lebret, O. P., and others have recently received unfavorable comment in these pages without occasioning a spate of letters and a rejoinder by the author, may think that they are now in the presence of a Great Debate. The fact is, *not one single letter* on this subject has yet come from someone not personally connected with Mr. Lawler. This is not to disparage my correspondents' views, which I have answered specifically, but to indicate the size of the teapot in which this silly tempest is brewing.

Finally, I presume that, should I feel it worth the trouble, Mr. Lawler will grant me ample space to reply to my coming Annihilation in *Continuum*. As for a "trial by intellect" presided over by my fellow editors and concluding with a formal retraction to the effect that Mr. Lawler is crabby or Mr. Steinfels pathological, I am afraid that Mr. Lawler over-rates the importance in world history of both his book and my review. PETER STEINFELS

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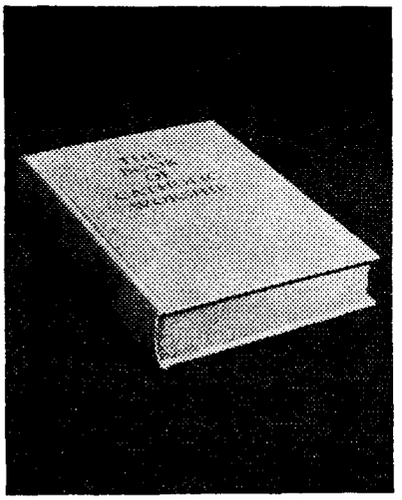

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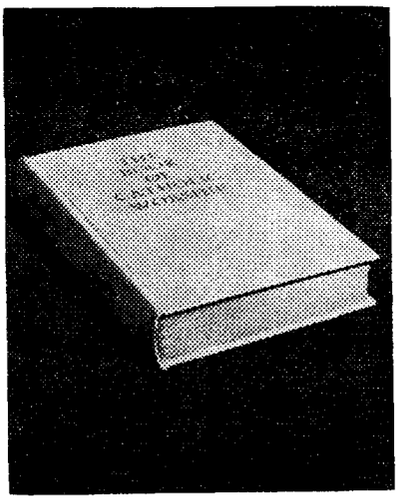

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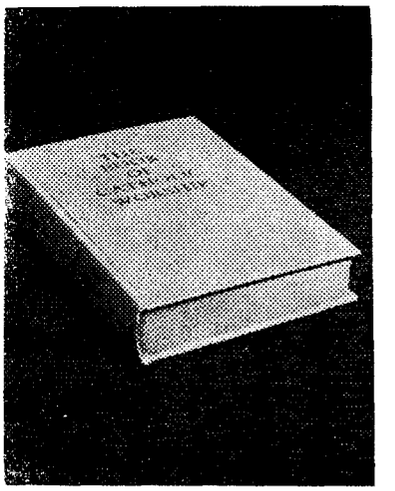

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